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[For information on the horse medicine cult and its bundle, see all of the above categories.]

ring, brass ear-rings, and a little bottle made of two copper 778
cartridge cases. 782

Down on Milk River, east of the Sweet Grass Hills, is 823
another medicine rock. It is shaped something like a
man's body, and looks like a person sitting on top of the
bluff. Whenever the Blackfeet pass this rock, they make
presents to it. Sometimes, when they give it an article of
clothing, they put it on the rock, "and then," as one of
them once said to me, "when you look at it, it seems more
than ever like a person." Down in the big bend of the
Milk River, opposite the eastern end of the Little Rocky
Mountains, lying on the prairie, is a great gray boulder,
which is shaped like a buffalo bull lying down. This is [171]
greatly reverenced by all Plains Indians, Blackfeet included,
and they make presents to it. Many other examples of
similar character might be given.

The Blackfeet make daily prayers to the Sun and to Old 776
Man, and nothing of importance is undertaken without 782
asking for divine assistance. They are firm believers in 787
dreams. These, they say, are sent by the Sun to enable us
to look ahead, to tell what is going to happen. A dream,
especially if it is a strong one, — that is, if the dream is very
clear and vivid, — is almost always obeyed. As dreams [721]
start them on the war path, so, if a dream threatening bad
luck comes to a member of a war party, even if in the
enemy's country and just about to make an attack on a
camp, the party is likely to turn about and go home without
making any hostile demonstrations. The animal or object [776]
which appears to the boy, or man, who is trying to dream
for power, is, as has been said, regarded thereafter as his
secret helper, his medicine, and is usually called his dream
(*Nits-o'-kan*).

The most important religious occasion of the year is the 796
ceremony of the Medicine Lodge. This is a sacrifice, which, [562]
among the Blackfeet, is offered invariably by women. If a [782]

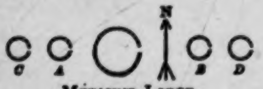
796 woman has a son or husband away at war, and is anxious
782 about him, or if she has a dangerously sick child, she may
make to the Sun a vow in the following words: —

"Listen, Sun. Pity me. You have seen my life. You know that I am pure. I have never committed adultery with any man. Now, therefore, I ask you to pity me. I will build you a lodge. Let my son survive. Bring him back to health, so that I may build this lodge for you."

The vow to build the Medicine Lodge is repeated in a loud voice, outside her lodge, so that all the people may hear it, and if any man can impeach the woman, he is obliged to speak out, in which case she could be punished according to the law. The Medicine Lodge is always built in summer, at the season of the ripening of the sarvis berries, and if, before this time, the person for whom the vow is made dies, the woman is not obliged to fulfil her vow. She is regarded with suspicion, and it is generally believed that she has been guilty of the crime she disavowed. As this cannot be proved, however, she is not punished.

796 When the time approaches for the building of the lodge, a suitable locality is selected, and all the people move to it, putting up their lodges in a circle about it. In the meantime, at least a hundred buffalo tongues have been collected, cut, and dried by the woman who may be called the Medicine Lodge woman. No one but she is allowed to take part in this work.

Before the tongues are cut and dried, they are laid in a
[782] pile in the medicine woman's lodge. She then gives a feast
to the old men, and one of them, noted for his honesty, and
well liked by all, repeats a very long prayer, asking in
substance that the coming Medicine Lodge may be acceptable
to the Sun, and that he will look with favor on the people,
and will give them good health, plenty of food, and success
[533] in war. A hundred songs are then sung, each one different
from the others. The feast and singing of these songs lasts
a day and a half.



Medicine Lodge.

Before the Medicine Lodge is erected, four large sweat 346
lodges are built, all in a line, fronting to the east or toward the 796 ●
rising sun. Two stand in front of the Medicine Lodge, and two behind it. The two nearest the Medicine Lodge are built one day, and the others on the day following. The sticks for the framework of these lodges are cut only by renowned warriors, each warrior cutting one, and, as he brings it in and lays it down, he counts a *coup*, which must be of some especially brave deed. The old men then take the sticks and erect the lodges, placing on top of each a buffalo skull, one half of which is painted red, the other black, to represent day and night, or rather the sun and the moon. When the [782]
lodges are finished and the stones heated, the warriors go in to sweat, and with them the medicine pipe men, who offer up prayers.

While this is going on, the young men cut the centre post for the Medicine Lodge, and all the other material for its construction. The women then pack out the post and the poles on horses, followed by the men shouting, singing, and shooting.

In the morning of this day the medicine woman begins a 785
fast, which must last four days and four nights, with only one 796
intermission, as will shortly appear. During that time she may not go out of doors, except between sunset and sunrise. During the whole ceremony her face, hands, and clothing are covered with the sacred red paint.

When all the material has been brought to the spot where 346
the lodge is to be erected, that warrior who, during the 796
previous year, has done the most cutting and stabbing in battle is selected to cut the rawhide to bind it, and while he cuts the strings he counts three *coups*.

The centre post is now placed on the ground, surrounded [575]
by the poles and other smaller posts; and two bands of the

346 *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi*, the Braves, and the All Crazy Dogs ap-
● 796 proach. Each band sings four songs, and then they raise the
lodge amid the shouting of the people. It is said that, in old
[575] times, all the bands of the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* took part in this
ceremony. For raising the centre post, which is very heavy,
lodge poles are tied in pairs, with rawhide, so as to form
[777] "shears," each pair being handled by two men. If one of
[763] the ropes binding the shears breaks, the men who hold the
pair are said to be unlucky; it is thought that they are soon
to die. As soon as the centre post is up, the wall posts
are erected, and the roof of poles put on, the whole
structure being covered with brush. The door-way faces
east or southeast, and the lodge is circular in shape, about
forty feet in diameter, with walls about seven feet high.

Inside the Medicine Lodge, at the back, or west side, in
the principal place in the lodge, is now built a little box-
shaped house, about seven feet high, six feet long, and four
wide. It is made of brush, so tightly woven that one
[756] cannot see inside of it. This is built by a medicine man,
the high priest of this ceremony, who, for four days, the
duration of the ceremony, neither eats nor goes out of it in
the daytime. The people come to him, two at a time, and
he paints them with black, and makes for them an earnest
prayer to the Sun, that they may have good health, long
[821] lives, and good food and shelter. This man is supposed to
have power over the rain. As rain would interfere with the
ceremonies, he must stop it, if it threatens.

796 In the meantime, the sacred dried tongues have been
placed in the Medicine Lodge. The next morning, the
[782] Medicine Lodge woman leaves her own lodge, and, walking
very slowly with bowed head, and praying at every step, she
enters the Medicine Lodge, and, standing by the pile of
tongues, she cuts up one of them and holds it toward heaven,
offering it to the Sun; then she eats a part of it and buries
the rest in the dirt, praying to the Ground Man, and calling

him to bear witness that she has not defiled his body by 796
committing adultery. She then proceeds to cut up the 782
tongues, giving a very small piece to every person, man,
woman, or child. Each one first holds it up to the Sun,
and then prays to the Sun, Na'-pi, and the Ground Man for
long life, concluding by depositing a part of the morsel of
tongue on the ground, saying, "I give you this sacred
tongue to eat." And now, during the four days, outside the
lodge, goes on the counting of the *coups.* Each warrior in
turn recounts his success in war, — his battles or his horse-
takings. With a number of friends to help him, he goes
through a pantomime of all these encounters, showing how
he killed this enemy, took a gun from that one, or cut
horses loose from the lodge of another. When he has [553]
concluded, an old man offers a prayer, and ends by giving
him a new name, saying that he hopes he will live well and
long under it.

Inside the lodge, rawhide ropes are suspended from the 796
centre post, and here the men fulfil the vows that they 304
have made during the previous year. Some have been sick, 785
or in great danger at war, and they then vowed that if they
were permitted to live, or escape, they would swing at the
Medicine Lodge. Slits are cut in the skin of their breast,
ropes passed through and secured by wooden skewers, and
then the men swing and surge until the skin gives way and
tears out. This is very painful, and some fairly shriek with [152]
agony as they do it, but they never give up, for they
believe that if they should fail to fulfil their vow, they would
soon die.

On the fourth day every one has been prayed for, every 796
one has made to the Sun his or her present, which is tied to
the centre post, the sacred tongues have all been consumed,
and the ceremony ends, every one feeling better, assured of
long life and plenty.

Most persons have an entirely erroneous idea of the [182]

● 796 182 purpose of this annual ceremony. It has been supposed that it was for the purpose of making warriors. This is not true. It was essentially a religious festival, undertaken for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the people according to their beliefs. Incidentally, it furnished an opportunity for the rehearsal of daring deeds. But among no tribes who practised it were warriors made by it. The swinging by the breast and other self-torturings were but the fulfilment of vows, sacred promises made in time of danger, penances performed, and not, as many believe, an occasion for young men to test their courage.

554 796 From the Indians of the tribe, the Medicine Lodge woman receives a very high measure of respect and consideration. Blackfoot men have said to me, "We look on the Medicine Lodge woman as you white people do on the Roman Catholic sisters." Not only is she virtuous in deed, but she must be serious and clean-minded. Her conversation must be sober.

276 Before the coming of the whites, the Blackfeet used to smoke the leaves of a plant which they call *na-wuh'-to-ski*, and which is said to have been received long, long ago from a medicine beaver. It was used unmixed with any other plant. The story of how this came to the tribe is told elsewhere.[1] [178] This tobacco is no longer planted by the Piegans, nor by the Bloods, though it is said that an old Blackfoot each year still goes through the ceremony, and raises a little. The plant grows about ten inches high and has a long seed [115] stalk growing from the centre. White Calf, the chief of the Piegans, has the secrets of the tobacco and is perhaps the only person in the tribe who knows them. From him I have received the following account of the ceremonies connected with it: —

249 Early in the spring, after the last snow-storm, when the flowers begin to bud (early in the month of May), the women and children go into the timber and prepare a large

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[1] The Beaver Medicine, p. 117. A

A. [See Category 116 --Analyst]

bed, clearing away the underbrush, weeds and grass and 249
leaves and sticks, raking the ground till the earth is thoroughly pulverized. Elk, deer, and mountain sheep droppings are collected, pounded fine, and mixed with the seed which is to be sown.

On the appointed day all the men gather at the bed. 249
Each one holds in his hand a short, sharp-pointed stick, with 796
which to make a hole in the ground. The men stand in a row extending across the bed. At a signal they make the holes in the ground, and drop in some seed, with some sacred sarvis berries. The tobacco song is sung by the medicine [533]
men, all take a short step forward, make another hole, a foot in front of the last, and then drop in it some more seed. Another song is sung, another step taken, and seed is again planted; and this continues until the line of men has moved all the way across the bed, and the planting is completed. The tobacco dance follows the planting. [535]

After the seed has been planted, they leave it and go off after the buffalo. While away during the summer, some important man — one of the medicine men who had taken part in the planting — announces to the people his purpose to go back to look after the crop. He starts, and after he [782]
has reached the place, he builds a little fire in the bed, and offers a prayer for the crop, asking that it may survive and do well. Then he pulls up one of the plants, which he takes back with him and shows to the people, so that all may see how the crop is growing. He may thus visit the place three or four times in the course of the summer.

From time to time, while they are absent from the tobacco patch in summer, moving about after the buffalo, the men gather in some lodge to perform a special ceremony for the protection of the crop. Each man holds in his hand a little stick. They sing and pray to the Sun and Old Man, asking [782]
that the grasshoppers and other insects may not eat their plants. At the end of each song they strike the ground with

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

244 their sticks, as if killing grasshoppers and worms. It has
796 sometimes happened that a young man has said that he does
not believe that these prayers and songs protect the plants,
that the Sun does not send messengers to destroy the worms.
To such a one a medicine man will say, "Well, you can go
to the place and see for yourself." The young man gets on
his horse and travels to the place. When he comes to the
edge of the patch and looks out on it, he sees many small
children at work there, killing worms. He has not believed
[761] in this before, but now he goes back convinced. Such a
young man does not live very long.

At length the season comes for gathering the crop, and, at
a time appointed, all the camps begin to move back toward
the tobacco patch, timing their marches so that all may reach
it on the same day. When they get there, they camp near
it, but no one visits it except the head man of the medicine
men who took charge of the planting. This man goes to the
bed, gathers a little of the plant, and returns to the camp.

249 A small boy, six or eight years old, is selected to carry
796 this plant to the centre of the circle. The man who gathered
852 the tobacco ties it to a little stick, and, under the tobacco, to
the stick he ties a baby's moccasin. The little boy carries
this stick to the centre of the camp, and stands it in the
ground in the middle of the circle, the old man accompanying
249 him and showing him where to put it. It is left there all
796 night. The next day there is a great feast, and the kettles
of food are all brought to the centre of the camp. The
[533] people all gather there, and a prayer is made. Then they
sing the four songs which belong especially to this festival.
The first and fourth are merely airs without words; the
second has words, the purport of which is, "The sun goes
with us." The third song says, "Hear your children's prayer."
After the ceremony is over, every one is at liberty to go and
gather the tobacco. It is dried and put in sacks for use during
the year. The seed is collected for the next planting.

When they reach the patch, if the crop is good, every one is 249
glad. After the gathering, they all move away again after the 796 ●
buffalo.

Sometimes a man who was lazy, and had planted no to- 249
bacco, would go secretly to the patch, and pull a number of 685
plants belonging to some one else, and hide them for his own
use. Now, in these prayers that they offer, they do not ask [796]
for mercy for thieves. A man who had thus taken what did
not belong to him would have a lizard appear to him in a [784]
dream, and then he would fall sick and die. The medicine [787]
men would know of all this, but they would not do anything.
They would just let him die.

This tobacco was given us by the one who made us. 276 [824]

The Blackfoot cosmology is imperfect and vague, and I 772
have been able to obtain nothing like a complete account of
it, for I have found no one who appeared to know the story
of the beginning of all things.

Some of the Blackfeet now say that originally there was a 539
great womb, in which were conceived the progenitors of all 773
animals now on earth. Among these was Old Man. As the
time for their birth drew near, the animals used to quarrel
as to which should be the first to be born, and one day,
in a fierce struggle about this, the womb burst, and Old Man
jumped first to the ground. For this reason, he named all
the animals Nis-kum'-iks, Young Brothers; and they, because
he was the first-born, called him Old Man.

There are several different accounts of the creation of the 773
people by Old Man. One is that he married a female dog,
and that their progeny were the first people. Others, and
the ones most often told, have been given in the Old Man
stories already related.

There is an account of the creation which is essentially [171]
an Algonquin myth, and is told by most of the tribes of this
stock from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, though the
hero is variously named.

At night they were suspended within, above the owners' seat. 276
It was said that if at any time a person should walk com- 778
pletely around the lodge of a medicine man, some bad luck [784]
would befall him. Inside the lodge, no one was allowed to
pass between the fireplace and the pipe stem. No one but [756]
a medicine man and his head wife could move or unroll the
bundle. The man and his wife were obliged always to keep [386]
their faces, hands, and clothing painted with *nits'-i-san*, a
dull red paint, made by burning a certain clay found in the
bad lands.

The *Ni-namp'-skan* appears to be a priest of the Sun, and 756
prayers offered through him are thought to be specially
favored. So the sacred stem is frequently unrolled for the [755]
benefit of the sick, for those who are about to undertake a
dangerous expedition, such as a party departing to war, for [782]
prayers for the general health and prosperity of the people,
and for a bountiful supply of food. At the present time [178]
these ancient ceremonies have largely fallen into disuse. In
fact, since the disappearance of the buffalo, most of the old
customs are dying out.

The thunder is believed to bring the rain in spring, and 796
the rain makes the berries grow. It is a rule that after the 756
first thunder is heard in the spring, every medicine man
must give a feast and offer prayers for a large berry crop. I [821]
have never seen this ceremony, but Mr. Schultz was once [115]
permitted to attend one, and has given me the following
account of it. He said: "When I entered the lodge with the
other guests, the pipe stem had already been unrolled. Be-
fore the fire were two huge kettles of cooked sarvis ber-
ries, a large bowlful of which was soon set before each guest.
Each one, before eating, took a few of the berries and rubbed
them into the ground, saying, 'Take pity on us, all Above
People, and give us good.'

"When all had finished eating, a large black stone pipe [782]
bowl was filled and fitted to the medicine stem, and the

796 medicine man held it aloft and said: 'Listen, Sun! Listen,
756 Thunder! Listen, Old Man! All Above Animals, all
782 Above People, listen. Pity us! You will smoke. We fill the sacred pipe. Let us not starve. Give us rain during this summer. Make the berries large and sweet. Cover the bushes with them. Look down on us all and pity us. Look at the women and the little children; look at us all. Let us reach old age. Let our lives be complete. Let us destroy our enemies. Help the young men in battle. Man, woman, child, we all pray to you; pity us and give us good. Let us survive.'

[535] "He then danced the pipe dance, to be described further on. At this time, another storm had come up, and the thunder crashed directly over our heads.

"'Listen,' said the medicine man. 'It hears us. We are not doing this uselessly'; and he raised his face, animated with enthusiasm, toward the sky, his whole body trembling with excitement; and, holding the pipe aloft, repeated his prayer. All the rest of the people were excited, and repeatedly clasped their arms over their breasts, saying: 'Pity us; good give us; good give us. Let us survive.'

796 "After this, the pipe was handed to a man on the right of
782 the semi-circle. Another warrior took a lighted brand from the fire, and counted four *coups*, at the end of each *coup* touching the pipe bowl with the brand. When he had counted the fourth *coup*, the pipe was lighted. It was then smoked in turn around the circle, each one, as he received it, repeating a short prayer before he put the stem to his lips. When it was smoked out, a hole was dug in the ground, the ashes were knocked into it and carefully covered over, and the thunder ceremony was ended."

796 In the year 1885, I was present at the unwrapping of the
782 medicine pipe by Red Eagle, an aged *Ni-namp'-skan*, since
dead. On this occasion prayers were made for the success
756 of a party of Piegans who had started in pursuit of some

Crows who had taken a large band of horses from the 796 ●
Piegans the day before. The ceremony was a very impres- 782
sive one, and prayers were offered not only for the success of 756
this war party, but also for the general good, as well as for
the welfare of special individuals, who were mentioned by
name. The concluding words of the general prayer were
as follows: "May all people have full life. Give to all
heavy bodies. Let the young people grow; increase their
flesh. Let all men, women, and children have full life.
Harden the bodies of the old people so that they may reach
great age."

In 1879, Mr. Schultz saw a sacred pipe unwrapped for the 756
benefit of a sick woman, and on various occasions since he 755
has been present at this ceremony. All accounts of what
takes place agree so closely with what I saw that I give only [115]
one of them. Mr. Schultz wrote me of the first occasion:
"When I entered the lodge, it was already well filled with
men who had been invited to participate in the ceremony.
The medicine man was aged and gray-headed, and his feeble
limbs could scarcely support his body. Between him and
his wife was the bundle which contained the medicine pipe,
as yet unwrapped, lying on a carefully folded buffalo robe.
Plates of food were placed before each guest, and after all
had finished eating, and a common pipe had been lighted to
be smoked around the circle, the ceremony began.

"With wooden tongs, the woman took a large coal from
the fire, and laid it on the ground in front of the sacred stem.
Then, while every one joined in singing a chant, a song of [533]
the buffalo (without words), she took a bunch of dried sweet
grass, and, raising and lowering her hand in time to the music,
finally placed the grass on the burning coals. As the thin [783]
column of perfumed smoke rose from the burning herb, both
she and the medicine man grasped handfuls of it and rubbed
it over their persons, to purify themselves before touching
the sacred roll. They also took each a small piece of some

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Introduction to the Blackfeet

Blackfeet Means Many Kinds of People

THE CENTRAL THEME of this book is diversity. In some ways American 121
Indians are different from other segments of the United States population, yet it is an oversimplification to speak of "the Indian" and "Indian problems." There are Indian problems only in the sense that it is Indians who are involved with them in Indian communities. Then, too, all Indians are not alike. Not only do tribes differ one from the other, but there is often great variation within a single tribe. The Blackfeet are not like the Hopi, neither of these is like the Kwakiutl, and all differ from the Menomini: similarly it is impossible to describe the "typical" Blackfeet Indian. Many kinds of people and diverse ways of coping with reservation life are to be found among the Blackfeet, as I will try to show.

Albert Buffalo Heart, 1878–1964, was a respected elder and honorary 177
chief of the Piegan tribe of the Blackfeet Indians, who lived in Browning, Montana, the economic and political hub of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. He was
a tall, heavy-set, distinguished-looking man, who dressed in worn, well-laundered 291
wool trousers and shirt, moccasins, a neckerchief, and a hat with a tall undented crown. Buffalo Heart was a poor man by the white man's standards, but to the more Indian members of the tribe he was rich in the things that counted. He had lived a long life, had learned and practiced Indian ways, and was helpful and generous to his many kinsmen and friends.

During North American Indian Days, the annual Indian encampment that 177
is one of Browning's main summer tourist attractions, he would be one of a group
of advisers who tried to insure that the ceremonies were properly Indian. If the 527
Sun Dance ceremony was to be conducted, he would be given a principal role, as 796
he knew some of the ritual necessary for its success. He donned his ceremonial
regalia—a beaded suit of white deerskin, a Plains Indian headdress, and an air 292
of dignity—to greet distinguished visitors and to officiate in the adoption cere- 597

177 monies in which visiting dignitaries were given an Indian name and adopted,
symbolically, into the Blackfeet tribe. If any family conducted a memorial service
527 for a deceased relative, or staged a give-away to honor visitors, he was called upon
[292] to be the crier. As crier he announced the import of the ceremony, led in chanting
541 the proper song, or cried out the occasion for the give-away and called out the
names of those to be honored with a gift.
764 In years past he had been employed by the Great Northern Railway as
574 an official greeter of tourists arriving by train at Glacier Park, and as an entertainer
at the inns within the Park where he and his friends staged Indian dances for the
177 tourists.

Buffalo Heart, with others of his peers, had a place on the Honorary Tribal
464 Council, and was given a small per diem for attendance at tribal council meetings.
He was often chosen to accompany council members on trips to Washington, D.C.
177 for the purpose of lobbying for or against proposed legislation which would affect
643 Indians. In his regalia he furnished a bit of Indian color, as well as advice, to the
proceedings.

Buffalo Heart and his fellow members of the Honorary Council felt that
177 they represented the voice of the full-blood portion of the tribe and took every
643 occasion to make long speeches in Blackfeet, urging harmony and trust, and asking
for more attention to the needs of the people. But people paid little attention to
537 the speeches; instead they talked, moved about, and impatiently filled in time until
the Honorary Councilmen had had their say. On several occasions councilmen told the interpreter: "Tell him to make it short." The people in general felt some pride in their old-timers, but mixed this with a feeling of impatience and bare tolerance when the chiefs seemed to be taking themselves too seriously.

177 Buffalo Heart, and the others like him, usually lived among clusters of
full-bloods in the more run-down areas of town, in small outlying communities, or,
[361] in a few cases, in more remote areas of the reservation. Buffalo Heart lived in a
small two-room shack on Moccasin Flat, an area of shacks and cabins without
[362] sewer or water service, on the edge of Browning. The houses immediately surrounding his were occupied by some of his kin—a married son and his family, two married daughters and their families, and the family group of his brother.

The old man's home was the center for Indian gatherings. Here he and
[796] his friends conducted the religious rituals, bundle openings, and other ceremonies
[533] they wished to celebrate. Those who were singers would gather here occasionally
for a song service—a meeting where they would drum and sing old and new songs.
[756] Buffalo Heart served as a tie to the old days, a source of information on lore and
ritual, and an available medicine man for those who wished an Indian cure. The younger members of his family might participate in these functions, but usually just watched with a respectful air. As one family member said: "You join in even if you don't believe—it's part of the old Indian ways."

Buffalo Heart, however, was more than a man of the past. He was a
[756] medicine man and conducted curing ceremonies, yet he and those whom he had
[759] cured more often availed themselves of the services of the local doctors and hospital. Buffalo Heart was known as a Catholic and attended church occasionally,
[771] yet he was also considered to be a repository for, and a leader in, the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

John knows much about the old religion, the societies and the Indian social
activities, but he does not have the experience, status and authority to use this 177
knowledge. He too talks of "his people," the full-blood group that once lived
near each other on one part of the reservation and who still called that region
home. He called the elderly man from that area "chief" and told of the important
things the old man knew. Arrowhead speaks both Blackfeet and English and during 177
conversation with me would break off in midsentence to greet a passer-by in the
Blackfeet language, then resume our discussion in English. His English is adequate, 191
but spoken with an accent and with occasional grammatical errors, usually in tense
and gender, that indicate that English has been learned as a second language. He
said that this was the case—he and his family spoke Blackfeet when he was
growing up and his English had been learned in school.

John claims to have been a "great dancer" and a "champion" singer, but
was always on the fringe of the crowd at the Indian dances and ceremonies that 177
I witnessed. He was present, watching, often helping in some necessary but menial
task, but was never in costume, never participating in dances or rituals. He knew 196
what was going on and would describe and explain the proceedings to me. John
would tell stories about the power and importance of the old ways. He believes
these powers, one sensed, but he does not participate in the rituals concerning
them. He does not play a significant part either in Indian social activities or in
non-Indian community life. His social role remains unclear to me; he is, it seems, 177
a bystander, one of the crowd, a man for an occasional job, but more often categorized 571
by his acquaintances as a "good worker but a wino," a man of whom they
have limited expectations.

Conversation with Arrowhead seems to confirm this view. He can not place
himself. His talk is mostly of the past, of travel, work, or *past* participation in 177
Indian dancing, singing or ceremony. He *had* been a "champion dancer . . . a
good bronc rider." The highlights of his past may have become embellished by
imagination. He took me on a tour of "his land" to show with pride "his cattle,
his horses, his house." I knew, and he knew that I knew, that the land was his,
but the house and stock belonged to another man who leased the land. In the
situation of relating to a white man, at least, the need for status is more impelling
than sticking to the facts.

Questions about the future draw a blank. The future lies just beyond tomorrow:
"I've got a job coming up herding cattle." He evidently expects tomorrow
to be like today. "I'll look for you if you come back next summer," he said, "I'll
be around." He gives no clues as to further concern for what might lie ahead.

In contemplation of the past he rarely goes beyond his own experience.
On occasion he vaulted back to a "Golden Age," a legendary past he and his friends 177
accept of the trouble-free days of the Indian before the white man came. Then
everybody lived well and had plenty to eat. They never became sick and lived 829
long lives. "They didn't fight all the time either." Buffalo Heart, with all his belief
in the traditional culture never went back that far. He tried to retain Indian
ways of a life that his father had known; he found the better days to be those
that began to disappear with the buffalo. Arrowhead holds no hope for a miraculous
return of his Golden Age; Buffalo Heart, on the other hand, clung to the hope, it

555 of an enemy encampment and making off with a fine horse that had been tethered 183 to its owner's tepee. Bravery was measured, then, according to the relative danger of the exploit and the most dangerous deeds were those related to war and raiding. 554 But brave deeds alone were not enough. Unless a man were generous with his 183 goods and helpful to his neighbors, he would be branded as selfish and stingy and his supporters might abandon him. This emphasis put stress on acquiring property with which to be generous which in turn made skill important. But all these traits were enhanced if a man had supernatural support. Power increased a man's self-confidence and the expectancy of success on the part of himself and others. Ewers remarked that the horse raider ". . . was a courageous, alert, resourceful fighting man. Nevertheless, he did not attribute his success in war to these qualities. Rather he attributed it to the power of his war medicine" (Ewers 1958:127).

A man of ability, achievement, and with supernatural support was able to attract followers in his ventures of war and raiding, or in his political maneuvers. Influence began to build as he used these qualities and property to rally members of his family and band. He drew first upon the ties of kinship and then attracted followers from other groups to gain leadership within the band. The maintenance of this position, and the advance to higher status depended upon his ability to exercise all of his personal attributes in correct ways.

183 The ideals were a standard, of course, and probably few attained the ideal. But those who did stood as examples to the children, as noted earlier. People 626 measured each other and themselves by the ideals, and in a society where gossip 183 was an important control over behavior, verbal praise was eagerly sought. What people said about you was important, and the amount of praise a person received could be increased if he spoke well of himself. This seemed to be a response among the Blackfeet. People talked about their good deeds as well as the good and bad deeds of others, and were much concerned about their own good name. Men who aspired to leadership tested each other's claims; while rising on their own claims they could climb faster, in a relative sense, if by gossip they could cut down the man above them.

554 In a sense then, property was the measure of a man's achievement, and 556 the use of property became the means of validating a particular status and rising to a higher one. Property was accumulated to use in the gaining of further goods and, above all, as a means of expressing generosity. Highest status went to the generous man; a stingy man was the butt of gossip, and lost status among the Blackfeet.

Claims of power, bravery, skill and generosity were subject to public judg- 796 ment. Opportunities were given, particularly at the Sun Dance, for the recital of 554 coup claims, and public acceptance of these served to validate them. Men called upon to fill the roles in the Sun Dance ritual, society initiations, and naming ceremonies were selected from among those of accomplishment, and before performing the required act the man recounted the achievements that qualified him for the honor being bestowed upon him. Similarly, the woman who sponsored the Sun Dance, and the women who cut the buffalo tongues as a part of the ritual, publicly proclaimed their virtue. In ordinary conversation and in the give and take of daily life people might boast and overelaborate their exploits, but in these formal situations they tended to curb such over-enthusiastic self-appraisal. On these occasions 796 anyone who knew such claims to be false or exaggerated was expected to challenge 554 the claim. A woman who came to cut the tongues, for instance, would not only have claimed to have been a good hard working wife, free from the charge of adultery, but would also have related, naming names, the occasions on which she had resisted seduction. "You, Brave Eagle," she might have said, "You remember how you surprised me last fall when I was picking berries, and tried to get me to commit adultery. I told you off, didn't I." If she had told the truth, Brave Eagle would have had to confirm her statement; if she had lied, he would have had to contradict her. After all, his manliness was being attacked—if she was right he lost status as a great lover even as she gained or retained her prestige as a virtuous woman. Concern with self, public proclamation, and public validation kept people from making false claims. They advanced by validating deeds and virtues and by exposing the false claims of another.

Summary

The Blackfeet culture was based upon and integrated with a hunting and 105 gathering economy in which the buffalo was most important. The hunting band was the major economic and political unit. While the band was essentially a kinship group, people did change bands when it was to their advantage to do so. A band leader held his position by popular support, and gained power in tribal councils according to the number of followers he had. Power and leadership were exercised through persuasion and influence. No one could dictate and important decisions were reached by unanimity.

Both private ownership of property, other than land and resources, and the rights of the individual were held in high esteem. People strove to accumulate property, but material wealth was not the goal. Rather, property was given away to exhibit generosity.

Generosity, bravery, wisdom, and skill were highly valued personal qualities. War, horse raiding, hunting, and religious practice provided the major avenues for the achievement and display of these values. Men used bravery and skill to acquire fame and property, and they sought, or bought, supernatural power to aid in these endeavors. They used their gains to exhibit wisdom and generosity in order to attract a personal following that would lead to increased influence and higher social position.

The loss of the buffalo seriously undermined the whole culture. The Blackfeet faced radically altered conditions of life and were called upon to make unprecedented changes. New subsistence techniques were necessary. New skills had to be learned and old ones became obsolete Economic dependency led to the loss of much political, religious and social autonomy. The following chapter is used to trace the readaptations that accompanied the events subsequent to this catastrophe.

541 latter ceremony, the War Mothers and families of veterans who had died in action.

The Air Force ceremony struck several of us as a test of the time sense of [571] two cultures. Two Air Force generals were to be honored by being given a Blackfeet name and honorary membership in the Blackfeet tribe. The ritual called for a speech by an elderly chief at the conclusion of which he would pronounce the name he was giving the general, and place a war bonnet on the head of the newly adopted tribesman. A second chief would then make the bestowal to the other general. Air Force plans called for a jet plane fly-over as the war bonnet was put on the head of the senior officer. Four members of the Honorary Council, the master of ceremonies and an interpreter, dressed in Indian regalia, stood in an informal group at one side awaiting the beginning of the ceremonies, while to the other an Air Force contingent consisting of the two generals, fifteen full colonels and a captain, and a color guard of a sergeant and five enlisted men, were drawn up in formation. There was much synchronizing of watches on the military side, a relaxed unconcerned waiting on the part of the Blackfeet. The jets were evidently airborne somewhere over the horizon; if there was radio communication between the planes and the group on the ground, I did not see it.

The ceremony began. Air Force participation could be and was done according to a planned time sequence, but no one could predict how long one of the chiefs might choose to speak. Yet even as I was figuring the odds on outcome, the old chief concluded his speech and pronounced the name, the interpreter translated it, the war bonnet went up and the jets came over the horizon, over the group on the ground and out of sight in the direction of Great Falls. Someone, I will never know who, had good medicine.

The War Memorial dedication was a concern of local people and brought together an audience of families of veterans and tribal dignitaries. It marked the success of a drive begun many years earlier by the War Mothers (mothers of war veterans) to raise money for such a memorial, so commemorated too their persistence and hard work. A procession of tribal leaders, some in Indian regalia, the American Legion Color Guard, the Boy Scouts, and the War Mothers was followed by speeches from the Gold Star Mothers and the unveiling of the pylon shaped monument upon which was mounted a bronze plaque inscribed with the names of tribal members who had been killed in action in U.S. wars. Later in the day the War Mothers staged a give-away ceremony in memory of these war dead.

Indian-Oriented Social Occasions

571 The social occasions where most of the participants and spectators are people of Indian orientation include several public, semiprivate and private gatherings. Some are formal occasions while others are informal in their organization. [527] Formal public occasions include the North American Indian Days celebrations at 796 Browning, a Sun Dance held in conjunction with one of these, and periodically scheduled Indian dances. Horse races and stick game gatherings in the outlying 535 communities are frequent forms of public entertainment organized on a less 526 formal basis. The private and semiprivate gatherings are those to which attendance

[574]
[794]

the grounds and can be seen in attendance day after day, (b) a number of people 527
recognized as of white-orientation who make a brief appearance, spend an hour
or two watching the proceedings and then leave, (c) a few white-oriented people, 177
who because of special community roles and interests have reason to be in attendance
more frequently, and (d) a changing tourist attendance of twenty-five to one
hundred persons who spend varying amounts of time enjoying the spectacle. The 527
patterns of attendance and participation appear to be changing. During the past
ten years, many older people have died and fewer expert ritualists are left, but 178
younger people are getting involved in the dancing. In 1959, I noted that few
teenagers were dancing; the dancers tended to be either over thirty or under
twelve years old. In 1970, these youngsters had become teenagers and were still
turning out. More children were dancing. All age ranges seemed to be represented.
In addition, several children from white-oriented families were seen to be buying
costumes and learning to dance.[12]

The most recent Sun Dances were performed in 1959 and 1964 and the 796
ceremony I observed (1959) was held in conjunction with that year's Indian
Days. The religious ceremonies were held on the encampment grounds preceding
the secular festivities. A "Medicine Lodge" was constructed with appropriate 796
ritual by setting up a circle of ten poles around a center post: rafters were strung
between these poles and from each pole to the center post and lashed into place 346
with strips of hide. An opening was left to the east, and the wall and "roof" at
the west end were covered with leafy cottonwood branches to make a sun and
wind shelter for the ritualists who worked inside. The participants were largely 796
people of Indian-orientation as were most of the spectators. Modern Indian-orientation
does not require full knowledge and belief in the old religion. While 177
the key roles were filled by older men who knew the ritual, other people were
chosen more because they came close to the model of "good Indian people" than
for their knowledge of the ritual. Some others were selected because they were
kin of the more traditional participants or were among the social and political
leaders from both segments of the community. One woman told me that she had
been "captured" and had paid for the privilege of "owning" the knife and the
right to cut the hide into strips for the lashings on the Medicine Lodge. This was
traditionally a male prerogative, and in this case a male relative acted for her. In
1964 a young man conducted the ritual, thus assuming a role usually reserved
for an older man. He had been trained from childhood by his grandfather and other
elders, so perhaps was better qualified in this respect than most living elders, but
his action appeared to have made some of the older people uneasy. Such changes 796
aside, the ceremonies are solemn, the key participants are involved in rituals that
have deep meaning for them; the other participants pay respect to the beliefs
expressed, and the families and friends of the people involved watch the proceedings
with mixed emotions of interest, understanding, tolerance and respect.

Social dancing at the Indian Days Celebration functions as both entertainment 535
for the tourists and recreation for the participants. The dancers do not

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[12] Participation by these young people might introduce some confusion into my orientation schemes, but for reasons I will discuss in the final chapter, I think that their participation does not signal a turn toward Indian-orientation on their part.

128 sion of the characteristics that make for the achievement of high status will describe best the ideals of the society against which the lower rankings are also measured.

554 177 INDIAN-ORIENTED HIGH STATUS The joint requirements of maintaining Indian identity and achieving this within the political and economic framework of white culture have opened two channels to prestige and leadership within the Indian-oriented group. The ideal leader in this situation would be a man wise in the ways of both traditional Blackfeet and modern American cultures. He would be an authority on how best to be an Indian, yet well educated, skilled, and able to meet the white man on common ground. He would be experienced sufficiently to gain acceptance and influence in white society and to act as an able interpreter of each group to the other. The history of Blackfeet and American relations is too short to have produced such an ideal in one man. Instead, as more and more tribal members become white-oriented, some men gain high status by their greater knowledge of Blackfeet culture as it is known today. These leaders form a least acculturated high status stratum that for the sake of simplicity, will be called the *chiefs*. Others, better educated and more experienced with white culture, find high status by playing the roles of intercultural interpreters and mediators. They are accomplished spokesmen for the Indian-oriented point of view, and as a more acculturated high status class are labeled *interpreters*. There are more than generational differences between these two status types.

Chiefs are usually older men who know and support the currently known traditions and beliefs. They vary in their knowledge, belief and dedication, but all, together, form a repository of what is remembered of the old ways. One of these men recognized that much of the old culture had been lost, "things beyond the memory of even the old timers," but he and others of his status are "trying to show the young people the things from the past," with special emphasis on keeping the language alive. Their qualities and characteristics are those given in the description of Albert Buffalo Heart, so will be only summarily reviewed here.

Through their age, knowledge, and practice of Blackfeet ideals each of these men has gained the respect of a numerous following of kinsmen, friends and people from a particular region who recognize him as their chief, or respected elder. So these men are given respect and loyalty but little political power. It appears that the old leadership structure persists among the Indian-oriented group. People tend to shift their loyalties according to kinship, friendship, and self-interest. The leadership that develops carries responsibilities and influence, but rarely true authority. The chiefs are recognized as links to the past, authorities on tradition, and symbols of the Indian, but as the roles given them will show, these things are peripheral to the present political and economic sphere.

Chiefs perform a variety of public duties that center around their posi-
[527] tion as authorities on tradition. They serve on the Indian Days committee; they
help in planning the program and in the regulation of the camp; they don cere-
monial regalia to take part in the dancing and exhibitions that make up the pro-
[796] gram. If a Sun Dance is held, it should be sponsored by people of this class and
the principal roles will be filled by chiefs and their families. They are called upon
[597] to greet distinguished visitors and to officiate in adoption ceremonies and give-
aways.

554 has gained them this status, however, cannot be translated into effective, practical
177 political and economic leadership, so that another type of Indian-oriented leader
must fill this gap.

Interpreters,[16] like Raymond Black Plume, form a high status class made up of relatively younger men who are better educated, were raised in Indian-oriented homes, speak both languages fluently, and have assumed, or gained, leadership roles in the community. They express the ambition to "make a life by combining what is best of the Indian way with the best of the white way." They are capable of fitting into a role made necessary by the reservation complex wherein two contrasting societies attempt to function under a common political system. They can talk to and better understand both sides. At the same time, these leaders *are Indian-oriented.* They want to be accepted by the Indian society and want to maintain Indian identity, but both the bicultural milieu and their personal qualities lead to an understanding and participation that differs from that of the chiefs.

The interpreters know much of the old religion and lore. Quite often their
fathers had been of the chief class and these men had been taught some of the
554 traditions in their homes. But they are not committed, openly at least, to the old
religion. They are members, and often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who
177 are Catholics look for elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they
771 are adept at finding Christian analogues for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined
minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian attendance at
these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence that many Indian-oriented
persons are changing church affiliation frequently and that this is caused
possibly by a search for a white church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet
religion.[17]

The interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are given parts to
[796] play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional wisdom required for the
roles, but they are Indian leaders who are sympathetic and "good." They tend to
express Indian values, and subscribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters frequently
put up a tepee for Indian Days, wear a chiefly costume on appropriate occasions,
stress their Indian names, and belong to a men's society.

554 In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity
to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become
177 experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the
white-oriented, and through ability, hard work, and some economic success are
well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own
554 in any rural off-reservation community. The interpreters are not wealthy. They
556 usually earn good salaries in agency or council positions but they use this income
to help support a family ranch. Their less acculturated kinsmen work the ranch
[602] in return for some financial support. All share in the profits and losses from the
enterprise.

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[16] In an earlier paper I included the interpreters among what I called the 150% Men—people who knew two cultures well (McFee 1968).

[794] [17] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults common to so many Indian reservations even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

[ca. 1700]

789 Magic also played an important part in Blackfoot religion.
One impressive magical performance known to many Algonkian
tribes of the woodlands in historic times was seen among the
Piegans by a white trader prior to 1795. Doubtless it was ob-
served among the Blackfeet in dog days. It is the ritual most
commonly known as the shaking tent rite.[14] A small tent was
erected in the center of a lodge. The medicine man permitted
himself to be bound tightly hand and foot with rawhide ropes
and tossed into the tent. Soon the tent began to shake, and sounds
of struggle came from within it, followed by the singing of
787 strange songs. Then this primitive Houdini emerged from his
confinement with his hands and feet free and made one or more
predictions of future events. He told where buffalo would be
found in great numbers, or foretold some sickness or good fortune
which was to come to someone in the camp.

796 Probably lacking in Blackfoot religion in dog days was the
great tribal ceremony of the sun dance, which was held each
622 summer in more recent times. It also is unlikely that the hunting
bands recognized a tribal chief. Certainly the hunting band must
621 have been the primary political unit.

These, then, were the primitive Blackfoot Indians in dog days.
105 They were a hardy, nomadic hunting people. When buffalo were
plentiful, they shared their kill among all the families of the band.
All feasted on choice cuts of meat. When game was scarce, they
all tightened their belts. There were neither rich nor poor among
them. Their limited transportation facilities made the accumu-
lation of wealth, even in foodstuffs, impossible. They enjoyed
few luxuries. But they were a self-reliant people who wrested a
living from the resources of their own country and depended
upon no alien folk for any of life's necessities.

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[14] James Mackay, Indian Notes, Note 5. Manuscript in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. This early fur trader gives his eye-witness account of this Piegan magical rite.

[ca. 1800]

721 War was the principal occupation of the young men. The
Piegans, who continued to be the frontier tribe—living farther
south and west than the others—were the most active aggressors
in the successful wars against the Shoshonis. The Blackfeet, living
farthest northeast, bore the brunt of Cree and Assiniboin
pressures from the east. The Blood tribe in the center warred in
555 both directions. Many older men among the Blackfoot tribes
bragged of killing fifteen or twenty of the enemy. He was but
a modest warrior who could claim less than ten scalps. The successful
ones delighted in recounting their battle records.

721 In their wars with the Shoshonis and Flatheads, the Piegans
sent out large parties of several hundred men to do battle. However,
much of their warlike activity took the form of raiding for
231 horses by small groups of young men. By raiding and raising
horses some Indians managed to build up large herds. In 1809
one Piegan was said to own three hundred, while some Northern
492 Blackfeet owned thirty or forty horses. Two kinds of saddles
were used, a buffalo-hide pad stuffed with moose or elk hair,
employed by active young men, and a rawhide-covered, wooden-framed
saddle with high pommel and cantle, ridden by women.[44]

175 The traders' accounts of Indian religious beliefs are of less
value than their observations of everyday life and customs. They
127 depended to a great extent on the Cree language in their conversations
with the Blackfeet. They saw little of the Indians
during the summer months when furs were not prime and the
natives were hunting far from the trading posts. That was also
796 the traditional ceremonial season. Although Henry learned that
the Blackfeet then recognized the sun as their supreme being,
[774] he did not mention the tribal sun dance. If that important religious
observance of later years was performed at that time it
would have been held in the summer far away from the trading
posts.

778 Traders were intrigued by the painstaking attention given by
the Blackfoot tribes to ceremonial smoking. Yet the medicine

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[44] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, II, 526–27, 726–27.

648 over the Rockies to the old enemies of the Blackfoot tribes.
But the Piegans still could boast that they had never murdered
a Canadian trader.[47]

177 The Piegans must have realized how they had prospered since
the traders came among them. Their lives had become infinitely
177 richer than those of their stone-age great-grandfathers. Part of
their prosperity resulted from their acquisition of swift horses
231 from neighboring tribes. Horses greatly eased their daily tasks
of obtaining food and skins and of moving camps, and enabled
177 them to accumulate more possessions. Part of their prosperity
411 was due to the improved weapons, tools, and utensils obtained
from the traders. Some of the traders' wares replaced items the
412 Indians formerly made for themselves with time-consuming care.
415 Metal knives, files, and awls enabled them to fashion articles of
rawhide, soft skin, stone, and wood quicker than they could have
177 made them with stone and bone tools. The Indians gained more
leisure. They could devote more time to warfare, to accumulating
[721 wealth in horses through raids on enemy camps, to prolonged
● [796 religious ceremonies, to social gatherings, and to feasting. They
[574 grew strong and confident as they extended their conquests and
expanded their territory. Neighboring Indians and whites alike
recognized them as the dominant military power on the north-
648 western plains. Woe to those who incited their hostility!

At the same time Napikwan had gained a precarious foothold
648 in the Blackfoot country. His wonders were subtly undermining
177 the Indians' vaunted independence, even as the Blackfeet boast-
ed of their power and prowess. The Indians were becoming more
and more dependent upon him as they came to regard as necessi-
ties those traders' wares which they could not make themselves.

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[47] *Ibid.*, II, 719-23.

237 525 412 796 412 ners for a boy's sled. Pieces of ribbone were fashioned into gambling dice. Wedge-shaped pieces of the porous hipbone or shoulder blade made useful paint brushes. A buffalo skull was placed on the altar in the tribal sun dance. Some women dehaired rawhide rope by pulling the rope back and forth through the eye sockets of a buffalo skull.

281 415 372 Many buffalo cows killed in early spring contained the almost fully developed embryos of calves. Indian women cut off the heads of these unborn calves and used the entire body skin for berry, pemmican, and tobacco sacks. Finally, dried buffalo dung provided a practical substitute for firewood when Indians were camped on the open plains at a distance from firewood.

224 Most of these articles were by-products of the buffalo chase. Blackfoot Indians hunted buffalo for food and hides. The great number of animals killed provided ample supplies of the materials required to make the many other items listed above. Although buffalo were hunted throughout the year, the Indians recognized seasonal differences in the quality of the meat and the utility of the hides. Throughout most of the year the meat of bulls was tough and unpalatable compared with that of cows. So the Blackfeet preferred to kill cows for food except during
824 the early summer months when bulls were prime. They recognized the approach of the bull-hunting season when they saw the yellow flowers of "tooth grass." During the warm summer months, when buffalo hair was short, skins were taken for tipi covers and the numerous other articles made from soft-dressed skins or rawhide. Cows were at their best in the fall. This was the period of intensive hunting to secure winter meat supplies. It was only during the cold months, from November through February, that buffalo hair was long. That was the season for killing buffalo to obtain robes for the American traders and for Indian use in making bedding and winter clothing. Calves, generally born in May, were hunted soon thereafter.

224 492 Although their pedestrian ancestors surrounded buffalo on the open plains in the warmer months, Blackfoot horsemen rarely employed the mounted surround. They preferred the chase, a

sins. Women and girls wore the same kind of moccasins, mittens, 291
and headgear. Trade blankets or buffalo robes covered their
undecorated dresses. 221

The Indians obtained their drinking water from holes chopped 312
in the river ice. At these water holes the horses were watered
three times daily. The horses were left to rustle for their food 221
by pawing away the snow to the grass below. Some men fed
their best horses the inner bark of cottonwood, which the Indians 231
considered "better than oats." Others employed this supple- 221
mental feed only when the snow was too deep for the horses
to rustle their own food. In some winters deep snows combined
with very cold weather killed off many horses. In spite of every-
thing their owners could do for them, the animals froze to death.

Throughout the winter beaver bundle owners kept primitive 805
calendars of notched sticks, one notch representing each day,
by which they could predict the approach of spring. The band 221
chief carefully examined the development of embryos taken 821
from buffalo cows killed in late winter hunts. When he saw that
the unborn calves were beginning to develop hair, he knew 825
spring was near. Before the river ice broke up, the beaver men 221
held their ceremonies. When geese were seen flying north, all [796]
knew it was time to leave their winter camp. This was usually
in late March or early April. After five or more months in one 221
location the people were restless. They were glad to roam the [825]
plains again.

March was a difficult month during which the buffalo began
to drift away from the sheltered river valleys. Unless the bands
packed and followed the buffalo, they would have to subsist on
small game or go hungry. Each band went its separate way in [621]
pursuit of buffalo. Buffalo calves were born in spring, between
the breakup of winter camp and the annual May storm, a sudden
and in some years heavy fall of snow which melted and disap-
peared almost over night. The Indians killed calves for children's [231]
robes and soft skin sacks. The medicine pipe ceremony was per-
formed after the first thunder was heard in spring, usually in [796]
April or May. Spring was also the season for making willow back-

[ca. 1850]

221 rests to furnish tipis, constructing and repairing riding gear, and
fashioning warm-weather clothing. Horses, thinned and weakened
during the winter months, fattened and grew strong on the
rich spring grasses. Toward the end of spring women dug bulbs,
which provided a welcome change in diet after the long winter
of eating meat and dried foods.

221 When buffalo bulls became prime in June, the scattered hunting
bands began to gather for the tribal summer hunt. It required
224 several weeks for these bands to assemble and for each
to occupy its assigned segment of the tribal camp circle. Then
began the organized summer hunt under the leadership of the
tribal chief and the strict regulation of men's societies chosen
[782] to police the camp and hunt. This summer hunt provided cowhides
for new tipi covers, meat, and most important of all, the
sacrificial food for the sun dance—buffalo tongues. Only bull
tongues were collected, and as many as three hundred might
221 be needed. After the tongues were prepared and scouts had
796 selected the site for the sun dance encampment, the entire tribe
moved toward the site in four daily marches. These were dress
parades on which the people wore their finest clothes, decorated
their horses with their most elaborate trappings, and the
men displayed their weapons and shields. Sarvis berries were
ripe when the sun dance began, usually in August. Some eight
221 or ten days were spent in the sun dance encampment. At the
end of that period the tipis were taken down, the camp circle
221 was dissolved, and the bands separated for their fall hunt. This
619 summer season was the only time of year when all the bands of
the tribe camped together in one great village. In this tribal encampment
friendships between individuals of the different bands
were formed, renewed, and strengthened, the men's societies
held their ceremonies and competed against one another in
games and races, young men courted girls of other bands, horses
were bartered, painted lodges and sacred bundles were ceremonially
transferred, successful warriors were honored, visitors
from friendly tribes were feasted and showered with gifts, and
the chiefs and headmen of the tribe met in council to discuss

[ca. 1850]

at the tribal sun dance encampment. They selected a leader, who 883
presented a pipe to the leader of the society. Each of the other
youths gave pipes to other members of the society. If the pipes 575
were accepted, the petitioners were expected to make other 561
gifts of horses and valuable goods to those who relinquished 432
their society membership to them and who taught them the
ceremonial procedures of the organization. It was usual for societies to sell out to a group of younger men every four years.

There were seven of these age-graded men's societies among
the Blackfeet in 1833. The youngest group was then the Mos- 561
quitos, the oldest the Buffalo Bulls. Two decades later the Bulls 575
Society among the Piegans had become inactive on account of the death of many of its older members, but a new society, the Pigeons, or Doves, had been added to the bottom of the series.[10]

Because members of these societies belonged to different hunting bands, they were only active during the summer season when
the tribal camp was organized. At that time the head chief called [625]
upon one or two of the societies, usually the younger of the
mature groups, to police the camp and the tribal hunt. In the [746]
sun dance camp each society performed its peculiar ceremony. Collectively, the men's societies were known as the All-Comrades.[11]

There was another and even closer relationship between boys 572
of the same band, that of partners. Two boys of about the same age became close companions. They played together as children, helped each other in courting girls, went to war together, and offered advice and assistance to each other whenever it might be needed. If a young man was wounded in battle, his partner risked his life to carry him to safety and stayed behind the rest of the war party until the disabled man was able to be helped home. In many instances this close friendship and mutual assistance between partners continued through the rest of their lives.

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[10] Maximilian, *Travels*, II, 112–17.

[11] Clark Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XI, Part 4, 361–450. Includes detailed description of specialized paraphernalia and ceremonies of each society.

[ca. 1850]

575 There was a women's society among the Blood and Northern
[184] Blackfoot tribes which was unknown among the Piegans. Its
members were wives of the most highly respected men in their
575 tribes. Prior to the sun dance in summer, members of this Matoki
society built a ceremonial lodge which resembled a buffalo corral,
● 796 and on the final day of their four-day ritual re-enacted the drive
of buffalo into the corral. Some of the members wore buffalo
headdresses and mimicked the actions of buffalo.[12]

888 The aged were no longer abandoned on the plains as had been
[761] the common lot of enfeebled old people before the Blackfeet
acquired horses. If an old man or woman was too feeble to ride
[178] alone, he or she was carried on the A-shaped horse travois. If
the head of a family knew he was about to die, he called his
763 relatives together and told them how he wished his horses and
other property divided among them. If he died without having
768 made such a verbal will, the other people in camp made a run
for his property as soon as they heard his relatives weeping and
wailing. Men ran for his horses; women went for his household
equipment. The men might take all his best horses and leave
the poorest ones for his widow. Close relatives of the deceased,
preoccupied with mourning his loss, made no attempt to prevent
this raid on his property. Custom decreed that they should not
do so. These raids were made with particular relish upon the
property of a man of wealth who had had a reputation for miserliness during his lifetime.

763 No such action followed the death of a highly respected, generous leader. His lodge interior was carefully arranged just as it
764 had been when he had entertained prominent guests. His body
was dressed in his finest clothing and laid upon a raised platform
of poles in the center of his lodge. Then his relatives painted
simple representations of his brave war deeds on his favorite
horse, braided its mane and tail and tied feathers in them, and
placed his best saddle on the horse's back. In the presence of
all the people of the camp this horse and others to be sacrificed
were led to the door of the death lodge. Each in turn was shot

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[12] *Ibid.*, 430–35.

778 and offered him a pipe and the promise of horses and other valu-
425 ables in exchange for his power. Should the owner not wish to
part with his sacred possession, or should he feel the offer too
small, he refused the pipe. If he accepted the pipe, he agreed to
the transfer.

Although the details of transfer rituals differed with particular
medicine bundles, the ceremonies associated with the transfer
of the more important bundles had a number of general features
783 in common. Before the formal transfer, the petitioner and bundle
owner purified themselves by taking a sweat bath together. The two men, both naked, entered a sweat lodge, which was a temporary structure composed of a framework of arched willows covered with buffalo robes. Attendants heated stones in a near-by fire and placed them inside the sweat lodge. The two bathers sprinkled water on the hot stones, producing a steam which caused them to perspire freely in the little enclosure. Meanwhile, they sang and prayed. At the conclusion of this purification rite they ran to the cool waters of a near-by lake or stream.

778 The bundle transfer took place inside the owner's tipi. His
wife assisted him in the ritual of transfer. Usually a smudge of
425 sweet-smelling grass or other fragrant plant was made on an
796 earth altar in front of the owner's seat. He opened the ceremony
by narrating in detail the story of the origin of the bundle. Then, very slowly and deliberately, often making three feints toward an object before touching it, he proceeded to open the sacred bundle. He untied the knots in the rawhide cords surrounding the bundle, unwrapped the outer covering of skin and the inner ones of trade cloth, and reverently picked up each of the sacred articles in the bundle. He accompanied his actions with prayers and songs, singing a different song for each article handled. Smoking a pipe, dancing, and painting the face of the bundle purchaser were also parts of the ritual of transfer of the more important bundles. Many hours were required to transfer a complex bundle.

The purchaser watched and listened intently, for he had to
784 learn every detail of the bundle ritual. He also had to learn

778

[ca. 1850]

The bear knife became a coveted Blackfoot war medicine. It 714
had a sharp double-edged iron blade. Bear jaws and feathers
were bound to its wood or bone handle. There were more than 778
a half-dozen bear knives among the three Blackfoot tribes. In
1847, the missionary Father Nicholas Point met a Frenchman
who had lost all his horses in a fight with the Blackfeet. But he
was proud to have captured "a bear knife, which is for the Indians what a floating flag is for civilized man."[3]

Only a very brave man dared to purchase a bear knife from 714
its owner because the transfer ceremony was a dangerous ordeal.
After they had purified themselves in a sweat lodge, the man 778
who wished to acquire the bear knife and the owner entered the 796
latter's lodge naked. A bed of thorns was in the lodge. The owner 425
made a smudge of parsnip roots, donned a bearclaw necklace,
sang his bear songs, and imitated a bear pawing the ground.
Then he jumped upon the petitioner, pushed him on to the bed
of thorns and painted him in the bear manner.

After that he said, "Now, I shall give you the bear knife. If you don't take it, I shall keep it. If you get hurt with it, don't blame me."

He crawled four times around the lodge interior growling like a bear. Then, holding the knife by the end of its sharp blade, he hurled it at the initiate. If the latter caught it, he became the new owner and the former owner congratulated him. "You gave your life for that knife. It will make you powerful."

The daddy of all Blackfoot medicine bundles was the beaver 778
bundle. Indian traditions refer to the beaver bundle as the oldest
type of medicine bundle. It was by far the largest. Owners of 778
beaver bundles, known as beaver men or "those who have power
over the waters," were the tribal calendar keepers. With sticks 805
in their bundles they kept count of the passage of the months

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[2] This origin legend ^ was told me by Fish Wolf Robe, a Piegan, at the time [115]
I negotiated the purchase of a bear-painted lodge for the Museum of the Plains
Indian. [126]

[3] Nicholas Point, "A Journey on a Barge on the Missouri River from the Fort
of the Blackfeet [Lewis] to that of the Assiniboin [Union], 1847," *Mid-America*, [539]
Vol. XIII, 247. [778]

^ [i.e., the origin legend of the bear painted
lodges—Analyst] [532]

[342]
[773]

all the skins in the man's lodge. But meanwhile the man learned 778
all the songs of the beaver medicine and the bird and animal 539
skin that went with each song.

After the beaver returned to his home in the lake, the hunter 773
collected the skins of all the different birds and animals and made
them into his sacred bundle. Thus the beaver medicine bundle
came to be.[4]

The great size of this bundle and the variety of its contents 778
caused the beaver ritual to be the most complex of all Blackfoot
Indian rituals. It required years for a man to learn the several 796 ●
hundred songs of this ceremony, the animals to which each referred, and their proper sequence in the ritual. Consequently,
ownership of a beaver bundle was not transferred very often.
As a beaver man grew old, he taught the ritual to a younger man
so that he could carry on the ceremony after the old man's death.

The beaver bundle was opened and the ritual performed in [182]
response to an Indian's vow to feast the beaver man and to give
him valuable property if he or one of his family should recover
from a serious illness or be saved from imminent danger on the
warpath. In early times, when food was scarce and the people 778
were hungry, they called upon the beaver man to open his mighty
bundle and perform his ritual to call the buffalo. The beaver man 796
and his wife danced, shaking the hoofs and tail of a buffalo 189
which were taken from the bundle. He prayed and sang his 224
potent buffalo-charming songs to change the direction of the
wind and drive the buffalo toward camp. The next morning buffalo would be found close by and would be driven into the pound
made by the people of the village. In gratitude for his service
in preventing starvation, the people gave the beaver man choice
morsels from the buffalo impounded and killed.

Seeds of the sacred tobacco planted by the Blood and North- 249
ern Blackfoot tribes were preserved through the winter in the [778]
bundles of beaver men. At planting time in May they gave a

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[4] This origin legend was told me by Frank Red Crow, a Blood, in 1951. Four [115]
variants of the beaver medicine origin legend appear in Wissler and Duvall,
"Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians," AMNH *Anth. Papers*, Vol. II, Part 1,
74–78.

778 a strange painted lodge in the camp. He reported its presence to the
539 chief, who asked him to go see what the strange people were doing
in his camp. When the young man looked into the lodge, he saw the
773 girl, recognized her as the one who had been lost some time before,
and hurried to tell her parents of her return. When her father saw
the new lodge and the strange bundle, he asked her, "What are these?"

She explained, "They are Thunder's lodge and his medicine pipe. They are presents to you from my father-in-law, Thunder." » » »

778 Each year thereafter the medicine pipe was opened shortly
after the first thunder was heard in spring. In his ritual the medi-
796 cine pipe man carried his sacred pipe out of the lodge, raised it
toward the sky, and prayed for the welfare of his people and that no one in his camp would be killed by thunder (lightning) that year. The pipe bundle also was opened when a camp member, in fulfillment of a vow to have the ritual performed should a dear one recover from sickness or survive dangers on the warpath, made a payment of valuable possessions to the medicine pipe man. It was opened when the tobacco in the bundle was renewed and when it was transferred to a new owner.

791 The highly respected medicine pipe men were easily recog-
nized by their peculiar hairdress. Each let his hair grow long
302 and wore it gathered in a large forward-projecting coil over his
791 forehead. These men played an important role in camp move-
ments, always leading the moving camp. Their pipes had a
484 unique function in oath taking. A Blackfoot Indian who swore
778 upon the medicine pipe made as solemn a pledge of speaking
the truth as the Christian who swore upon the Bible in a court
of law. These Indians believed that any man who violated his
oath taken upon the medicine pipe would surely die.

There were nearly a score of medicine pipe bundles among the three Blackfoot tribes. The most sacred object in each bundle was a long wooden pipestem elaborately ornamented with plumes and such other decorations as eagle feathers, hair or weasel-skin pendants, trade beads, bells, or ribbons. The stone

[ca. 1850]

pipe bowls, wooden food bowls, sacred stones, and other accessories 778
in the bundle were employed in the ritual. But they
were secondary in importance to the pipestem. Although the [796] ●
ritual of the medicine pipe was less complicated than that of
the beaver bundle, it involved the singing of a lengthy series
of songs and prayers as well as dancing with the pipe.

Some medicine pipes were carried by war parties as powerful 778
war medicines. One of these was the "children's pipe," which
originated in the dream of a Blood Indian named Middle Calf 714
while he was on his way home alone from a horse raid. In this
dream an old man appeared who assured Middle Calf he would 778
reach home safely. The old man gave him a pipe to take to his 714
children, saying this pipe would bring them luck and good
health. When he reached home, Middle Calf made the sacred 787
pipe just as he had seen it in his dream. Its stem, less than eighteen
inches in length, was much shorter than that of most other
medicine pipes. It was decorated with pendant feathers, trade
beads, and an obsidian arrowhead.

At the sun dance encampment Middle Calf offered to transfer 778
his sacred pipe to any child who wished to own it. A wealthy
Indian sent word that he wished to purchase it for his eldest son. 425
The transfer ritual was unusually simple, involving the singing 796
of but four songs. First the owner took some balsam needles between his fingers and raised his hands, while singing, "The above ones gave me this incense which I hold." Then he held up his right hand with the thumb extended and sang, "The holy one above, he is holy." He touched the ground with the same thumb and sang, "The earth persons are holy." Finally he took the pipe stem in both hands, raised it, and sang the fourth song. "My pipe is holy. My pipe hears me." Then he stood up, holding the sacred pipe, and danced to the accompaniment of drums.

This medicine pipe had two functions—to bring health and to 778
foster success in war. The father of a sick child might make a 782
vow to purchase this pipe so that the child might regain his
health. When going into battle or into an enemy camp to capture [755]
[726]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Young man undergoing the self-torture at a Blood Indian sun dance.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY R. N. WILSON IN 1892
COURTESY AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

[facing p. 174]

778 horses, the owner of this sacred pipestem tied it in his hair on
the top of his head.[6]

782 One of the greatest mysteries in the history of the Blackfoot
726 tribes is that of the origin of their tribal sun dance. Alexander
Henry referred to their high regard for the sun when he wrote
● 796 in 1811, "The greatest oath a Slave [Blackfoot] can possibly
utter is that the earth and the sun hear him speak."[7] But he
made no mention of a tribal sun dance among the Blackfeet.
Prince Maximilian was at Fort McKenzie and visited the Indian
camps near by at the sun dance season, but he did not describe
the ceremony. Many years later Lieutenant Bradley reported
that some of the white employees at Fort McKenzie witnessed
the Piegan sun dance in 1832. And the winter count of the Blood
Indian called Father of Many Children recalled the year 1818 as
the one in which "The Blood Indians had their Sun Dance in
the winter time."[8] Possibly the ceremony was new to the tribe
at that time.

In any event, it seems improbable that the Blackfoot tribes
[171] originated the sun dance. It was the major tribal religious ceremony
among nearly a score of Plains Indian tribes. It was most
highly elaborated among the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, and West-
796 ern Sioux. Probably the Blackfeet derived this ceremony from
the Arapahoes, either directly or through their neighbors, the
177 Gros Ventres, who were close relatives of the Arapahoes.
Whether the Blackfoot tribes borrowed some of the features
of the sun dance of an alien tribe before the beginning of the
nineteenth century is questionable. It may very well have been
an early nineteenth century innovation.

Certain it is that by the middle of the nineteenth century the sun dance was the great tribal religious festival of the Blackfeet. It is equally certain that their sun dance was not a carbon copy of the ritual of any other tribe. It was modified and adjusted

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[115] [6] The story of the children's pipe was told me by Jim White Bull on the Blood Reserve in 1951. The pipe itself is in the collection of the Denver Art
[113] Museum.

[7] Henry and Thompson, *New Light*, III, 731.

[8] Bradley, "Manuscript," *MHSC*, Vol. IX, 268.

[ca. 1850]

to the existing Blackfoot ceremonial pattern of the medicine 796
bundle. The beaver medicine men in particular contributed both
to the symbolism and the sacred paraphernalia of the Blackfoot 177
sun dance.

A woman, the medicine woman, played the leading role in 796
the Blackfoot sun dance. Only a woman who had lived a virtuous
life, one who had always been true to her husband, could qualify 793
for this part. She assumed this sacred role by making a solemn
vow to the sun at a time of crisis in her family. She promised 796
the sun that if her sick loved one should regain health or her 793
warrior son or husband return home safely from a perilous raid, 782
she would undergo the sacrifice of serving as medicine woman
in the sun dance of her tribe. This sacrifice involved not only
the purchase of a costly natoas bundle worth many horses, but
also the observance of a fatiguing fast and the personal responsibility
for the success of the complex ceremony. She knew full 796
well that should anything go amiss during the ceremony, she
alone would be blamed, and both her veracity and her virtue 793
would be denounced by her fellow tribesmen.

If her appeal to the sun was answered, the woman's promise
was formally proclaimed to the people of her camp. She faced
the sun, and a man experienced in the sun dance ritual publicly
declared that this woman, whose prayer to the sun had been
answered, promised to give the sun dance. In some years more
than one woman in a tribe made this sacred promise. Each was
required to purchase a bundle and assume the medicine woman's
role. Perhaps this accounted for the existence of several natoas [778]
bundles in each Blackfoot tribe. Other virtuous women pledged
themselves to assume the less demanding roles of "coming forward
to the tongues" and assisting the medicine woman.

In the spring of the year a messenger was sent from the camp
in which a woman had pledged to serve as medicine woman to 796
the other scattered bands of the tribe. He presented tobacco to 203
the chief of each band and informed him of the woman's promise.
After the bands assembled in early summer to form the tribal 796
camp circle and begin the summer hunt, relatives of the medicine 237

[ca. 1850]

796 woman began to collect buffalo bull tongues to be used in the
237 ceremony. When a sufficient number of tongues were supplied—
several parfleches full—the camp announcer called upon all those
who had served as medicine women in previous years and the
women who had vowed to "come forward to the tongues" to come
with their husbands to the lodge of the medicine woman, which
was pitched a little inside the great camp circle. There a medicine woman of a previous year who was to instruct the neophyte
in the role she was assuming lifted one of the tongues and called
upon the sun, professing her steadfast loyalty to her husband.
Each woman in the assembly then made a similar confession.
Then the sacred tongues were cut up, boiled, and placed in parfleches in the medicine woman's lodge.

796 Movements in Blackfoot rituals commonly were repeated four
[801] times. In the sun dance the entire camp moved four times on as
many successive days. On the morning of the first day the medicine woman began to fast. Each day the camp moved she led
796 the way, riding a horse with travois attached, on which were
484 placed the sun dance bundle and the parfleches filled with sacred
[785] tongues. On each of the four days her husband and the male
instructor wise in the ritual of the sun dance purified themselves
[783] in a sweat lodge made from one hundred willows, which were
cut, brought in on horseback, and made into a lodge by members
of one of the men's societies. Finally, on the fourth day, the people of the tribe arrived at the site selected for the erection of
the great medicine lodge.

796 The major action and the climax of the sun dance occurred on
the fifth day. It was on that day that the medicine lodge was
346 built. Its most sacred architectural feature was the center pole,
a tall tree trunk of cottonwood, forked near the top. A man famed
as a scout for war parties was sent to select the center pole. When
he found a suitable tree he returned to camp and reported his
discovery. Then he led a party of seasoned warriors to the tree.
A man who had killed an enemy chopped the tree down and,
as it began to fall, shot at the trunk with his gun. As soon as the
tree hit the ground all the warriors charged it. Each broke off

[ca. 1850]

a limb and counted coup upon it just as they would have done 796
upon a fallen enemy. The party dragged the pole into camp and
laid it in the center of the camp circle with the base facing the 346
east. Other men gathered posts, poles, and brush needed in building the medicine lodge.

The design of the medicine lodge appears to have changed 796
about the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Indian
tradition and one published account, the older form of this struc- 346
ture resembled a huge tipi with long poles leaned against the 178
tall center pole.[9] This conical structure was like the Crow Indian sun dance lodge of later years. In more recent years the Blackfoot medicine lodge has been a polygonal edifice of forked, upright cottonwood posts connected by stringers laid in their forks. There was one peripheral post for each band of the tribe. Each band was responsible for cutting, hauling, and setting its post early on the fifth day of the ceremony. Certainly this type of medicine lodge, resembling the one used in the Arapaho sun dance, has been common since the 1870's.

In the forenoon of this day the complicated ritual of trans- 796
ferring the natoas bundle to the medicine woman was begun in
her lodge west of the unfinished medicine lodge. The medicine 778
woman of a previous year and her husband were on hand to transfer their bundle. Either her husband or another man well versed in the intricate transfer ritual served as master of ceremonies. Also in the lodge were the medicine woman's female assistants.

Slowly and deliberately the natoas bundle was opened and its sacred contents revealed. A long series of prayers and songs accompanied the opening. The most important articles in the 796
bundle were the sacred garments and accessories of the medicine
woman. One by one her assistants helped her to put them on. 778
The garments included an elkskin dress, a robe of the same ma- 292
terial, and an elaborate headdress. This was a buffalo-hide headband in the form of a lizard, with pendants of weasel skins and upright feather plumes. Attached to the front of the headband

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[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 266.

796 was a crude skin doll containing tobacco seeds and a weasel skin
stuffed with human hair. A flint arrowpoint hung from the doll's
778 head. The Blackfoot Indians believed this peculiar bonnet and
292 the elk garments had been given to a beaver medicine man long
ago by a bull elk. The elk, in turn, had received them as presents
796 from another elk who had run off with his wife. The primary
costume accessory was a sacred digging stick similar in form to
778 the ones commonly used by Blackfoot women for unearthing
293 prairie turnips. Another legend tells of the origin of this religious
symbol. A woman married the Morning Star and went to
live with him in the lodge of his father, the Sun. One day the
woman used this tool to uproot a sacred turnip. She looked down
through the turnip hole, saw her own people on earth, and became
homesick. Morning Star then permitted her to descend to
earth through the turnip hole.

796 One by one the long series of songs recited the mythological
[778 origin of each object in the bundle. After the medicine woman
was outfitted, her husband's body and face were painted black
533 with charcoal, a half-moon was painted on his breast and a circular
302] sun on his back, and lines representing sun dogs were made
on his cheeks, chin, and forehead.

796 During this ceremony in the medicine woman's lodge an altar
was constructed near the lodge door by stripping off the sod in
778 an area about three feet square, covering it with a thin layer
532 of light-colored earth, and executing a symbolic dry-color painting
on this prepared surface. A central circle (Sun) was flanked
by representations of two sun dogs (Sun's face painting), a crescent
moon (Sun's wife), and a disc (Morning Star, their son).
Before the medicine woman's party left her lodge, this altar was
destroyed, symbolizing the obliteration of the scar on the face
[773] of the legendary Blackfoot hero, Scar Face. In the Scar Face
myth his face was healed during his visit to the Sun.[10]

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[10] The fact that three legends—the Beaver Medicine, the Woman Who Married a Star, and Scar Face—are required for the symbolism of the Sun Dance is further indication of the composite character of this ritual. Clark Wissler, "The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XVI, Part 3.

[ca. 1850]

It was late afternoon when this private ceremony in the medicine 796 woman's lodge ended. In single file the occupants emerged from the tipi, led by the master of ceremonies. Following him in order were the medicine woman's husband, the former medicine woman who had transferred her bundle, the medicine woman herself, wearing her sacred headdress, elkskin dress, and robe and carrying the sacred digging stick on her back, and, finally, her assistants, carrying the parfleches containing the buffalo tongues. The procession slowly moved halfway around and back through the unfinished medicine lodge, the members halting and praying as they went, to an open-faced sun shelter set up west of the medicine lodge.

Then children and adults of the tribe who had been in poor 796 health or wished to receive the blessings of the holy ones came forward with gifts of cloth or clothing. Males took their gifts to 782 the ceremonial leader, girls and women to the medicine woman. Each petitioner was prayed for, and his or her face and wrists were painted. The medicine woman's helpers who had vowed to 796 "come forward to the tongues" proceeded to open the parfleches containing the tongues. Each of them in turn took a piece of the 782 dried tongue in her hand, faced the sun (now low in the western 237 sky), held up the tongue, and earnestly prayed for the welfare of her relatives gathered around her. The remaining tongues were distributed among the great number of spectators, who consumed them in the same prayerful spirit as Christians experience when they partake of holy communion. It was a solemn and a sacred act.

The remainder of the public ceremony on the climactic fifth 796 day of the sun dance was devoted to completing the erection of the medicine lodge. First the buffalo hide which was to be cut 346 in narrow strips for use in binding the rafters in place was spread out on the ground. Then successful warriors who had purchased the privilege came forward to cut the hide. Each in turn held his knife high while he recounted four of his brave exploits, then cut several of the thongs.

Shortly before sunset four groups of men carrying pairs of

[ca. 1850]

796 long poles connected by rawhide lines converged upon the medicine
cine lodge from the four cardinal directions. They sang as they
346 advanced. Then, using their poles as props, they carefully raised
the center pole into position so that it stood upright in the hole
dug to receive it. The medicine women stood by, praying that
this pole raising might be accomplished successfully. Should the
pole fail to stand upright, people would surely accuse her of
being less virtuous than she proclaimed to be.

Raising the center pole provided the dramatic climax to the
796 medicine woman's role in the sun dance. Once this pole was
346 firmly planted, her assistants led her to her lodge, where she
793 broke her fast on berry soup. Her husband took a final sweat
[262] bath to purify himself. Meanwhile, the other men of the great
encampment completed the medicine lodge as quickly as possible
[783] by binding the rafters with the prepared hide thongs and
covering the sides of the lodge with green cottonwood boughs.

796 Early the next morning a booth of cottonwood boughs was
346 erected on the west side of the medicine lodge. This booth was
occupied by two or more men who periodically left it to dance
796 to the accompaniment of several old men who sang and beat
535 upon a buffalo rawhide with rattles. Wearing only breechclouts
[292] and moccasins, the dancers faced the sun and blew upon eagle-bone
whistles. Their dance consisted primarily of raising and
[534] lowering themselves on their toes in time to the music. These
dancers were spoken of as "weather dancers" because they were
[821] responsible for preventing rain and insuring sunny weather
through the remaining days of the ceremony. They usually performed
for four days, during which they refrained from eating.
At intervals during this period persons approached the weather
dancers to be painted and prayed for.

796 On the first of the four days a fire pit was dug between the
center pole and the entrance to the medicine lodge on its east
372 side. Then, one by one, victorious warriors entered the medicine
796 lodge, hung offerings to the sun on the center pole, and recounted
their war exploits. After reciting each brave deed, a warrior
372 placed a stick on the fire. Those who could add enough sticks
555

to make the fire blaze high were greatly admired for their prow- 796
ess. The warriors dramatized their accounts by re-enacting their 372
accomplishments—the killing of an enemy, the capture of a 555
weapon or a horse, or the taking of a scalp. They achieved considerable realism in these performances by such acts as firing
their guns in the air and riding around the lodge with stick horses
between their legs.

However, by far the most dramatic of all the warriors' actions 796
in the medicine lodge were the excruciating self-tortures under- 785
gone by young men who had made vows to torture themselves
in the sun dance of their tribe. In 1947 the Blood Indian Heavy
Head, one of the last of the Blackfeet to submit to this painful
ordeal, described his experience to me.

« « « My partner, Buffalo Teeth, and I went to war to take horses. 796
At Medicine Hat we found a small camp of Cree half-bloods. It was 785
moonlight when we sighted their camp. I looked up at the moon and 782
prayed to it, "If I have good luck and get home safely I shall be
tortured at the sun dance." Then I stole into the camp and got one
bay that was picketed in front of a lodge without any of the enemy
waking. Buffalo Teeth got a roan.

When I reached home, I told my story to my father, Water Bull. The old man got up and sang his encouraging song. Then he told me, "My son, you have done something worth doing. You have made a vow that you will be tortured at the sun dance. You must do it this coming sun dance."

A short time after that the bands began to come together for the 796
summer encampment. I filled my pipe and went to Little Bear, a 785
relative of mine who had been through the torture years before.
I gave him the pipe and a buckskin horse, and said, "Here is a horse
for you. Keep this pipe too. I want you to look after me in the torture."
Little Bear went to the next lodge and got two old men, Green
Grass Bull and Red Bead, both of whom had been through the torture.
They came to Little Bear's lodge, smoked my pipe, and prayed for me.

The day before the torture I ate and drank nothing. Next day I [262]
had nothing until after the torture. However, the three old men gave
me some sagebrush to chew.

I was the last and the youngest of the three Blood Indians to

796 undergo torture that day. Inside the medicine lodge, on the west
785 side of the center pole and north of the weather dancers' arbor, a
shelter was built of sticks covered with willow leaves. I went in
there before noon of the day of the torture. I was laid on my back
with my head pointed north. I was barefoot and wore only a breech-
796 clout of red trade cloth. There was a little bowl of white paint and
785 another of black paint near by. The three old men painted four black
dots, one below the other, under each of my eyes. This was called
302 "tear paint." If I cried, the tears would run down there. Then they
painted a double row of six black dots on each arm. They painted the
symbol of the moon, points up, on my forehead in black. On the out-
side of each leg they painted a double row of six black dots. The rest
796 of my body and my face were painted white. They took some broad-
785 leafed sagebrush from the ground inside the sweat lodge and bound
it together, placing a wreath of it around my head and bands of it
[824] around each wrist and ankle.

I was taken from the shelter and laid upon a blanket on the ground at the north side of the center pole. Other men were told to keep back away from me. Then an old man named Low Horn was brought forward. He counted four war honors. While Little Bear and Green Grass Bull held my arms, Red Bead took a sharp, iron arrowhead in his hand and asked me, "How do you want me to cut them, thick or thin?" I said, "Thin." (I learned later that the man doing the cutting always did just the opposite of the young man's request. So when I told him "thin," Red Bead knew to make his incisions deep.) Red Bead recited four war honors. Then he pierced my breasts with the sharp arrowhead and inserted a sarvis berry stick through each breast. These sticks were not sharp but flattened at the ends. Blood flowed down my chest and legs over the white paint. Then Red Bead pressed the sticks against my body. They turned me around to face the sun and pierced my back. To the skewers through my back they hung a miniature shield with feathers on it.

Rawhide ropes were brought out from the center pole and tied to the skewers in my breast—right side first, then left side. Red Bead grabbed the ropes and jerked them hard twice. Then he told me, "Now, go to the center pole and pray for your vow to come true." I walked up there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the center pole, I

[ca. 1850]

was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off 796
my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the center pole. It felt 785
just like the pole was pulling me toward it. I danced from the west
toward the doorway of the lodge and back. Then, when the skewers 796
didn't break loose, the old men realized that the incisions had been 785
made too deep. Red Bead cut the outside of the incisions so they
would break loose. As I started dancing again the left side gave way 535
and I continued dancing with only my right side holding. Then an
old man, Strangling Wolf, got up from the crowd and called out four
war honors, then jumped upon me. The second rope gave way and
I fell to the ground.

The three old men cut off the rough pieces of flesh hanging from
my breasts. They told me to take these trimmings and the sagebrush 796
from my wrists, ankles, and head and place them at the base of the 785
center pole as my offering to the sun. This I did. 782

Then I took my robe and walked out of the medicine lodge alone.
I went to a lonely place and fasted for a night. I wanted to dream. 796
But I couldn't sleep at all because of the pain. At sunrise I prayed 785
to the sun.

When I got back to my lodge my mother gave me some food. I had 787
to stay in the lodge for several days. My breasts were so swollen 796
I could hardly move. Indian doctors used herb medicines to take the
swelling away and cure my wounds. » » »[11] 785
[757]

Nevertheless, six decades after this event Heavy Head still bore the scars of his torture.

There is a Blackfoot tradition that the custom of self-torture
was introduced from the Arapahoes through the Gros Ventres. [177]
It was never as common among the Piegans as among the Blood
tribe. Nevertheless, all three Blackfoot tribes made other sacrifices 782
of flesh and blood to the sun. Sometimes warriors on their
way to meet the enemy cut off bits of their skin and gave them 785
to the sun along with their prayers for success in their dangerous
mission. Women as well as men chopped off one or more fingers
and offered them to the sun. An elderly Piegan woman once
showed me the stump of a finger on one of her hands and ex-

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[11] John C. Ewers, "Self Torture in the Blood Indian Sun Dance," *Journal* Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 5, 168–70.

782 plained, "My parents had several children before I was born.
785 All of them died. When I was a baby, my mother cut off this
finger and gave it to the sun so that I might live and enjoy long
life. That I have done."

● 796 In the medicine lodge at sun dance time each of the men's
societies danced and presented gifts to the sun. The varied ceremonies
[535] in the medicine lodge usually consumed four or more
[782] days. The lodge itself was left standing when the great camp
broke up and the several hunting bands went their separate ways
for the fall hunt.

756 Like other peoples, the Blackfoot Indians employed simple
home remedies for minor ailments, but when someone was seriously
[757] ill they called upon a man or woman who had magic powers
[753] with which to cure the sick. The Blackfeet believed disease was
caused by an evil spirit entering a person's body and that it could
be cured by a doctor who possessed the power to expell the spirit.
As Blackfoot doctors received their detailed instructions for curing
755 the sick in dreams, their methods differed. Many, however,
employed singing, drumming, and calling upon their supernatural
helper for assistance. Not uncommonly, the doctor appeared
to extract some small object from the sick person's body as
756 proof that the cause of illness had been removed. Some doctors
[752] were specialists in treating broken bones, snake bites, or battle
[462] wounds. Many of the most renowned doctors were women. It
was customary to pay the doctor one or more horses for his services.
The family of a victim of a prolonged illness might give
all their possessions to the Indian doctor.

775 The Blackfoot Indians believed that after death the soul traveled to the Sand Hills, a desolate country south of the Saskatchewan River. There the deceased entered upon a new life similar to the one he or she had lived on earth. The dead were invisible to the living. Nevertheless, Indians who traveled through the lonely sand hill country claimed they heard strange noises and saw the trails and deserted camp circles of the dead. The Blackfeet claimed that the ghosts of the dead sometimes returned to communicate with the living in weird, whistling sounds.

[ca. 1880-1900]

648 The other prominent chiefs—White Calf, Three Suns, Little White Cow, and Running Crane—echoed Little Dog's sentiments. 657 Yet nearly three and one-half years passed before a land sale was negotiated and these Indians began to receive the cattle and the equipment they sorely needed to help them make a living on their remaining land.

361 Meanwhile, the two thousand South Piegans who survived the starvation of 1883–84 settled down within a radius of fifteen [657] miles of their agency and lived from week to week upon the rations given them by their agent. The majority of the old hunting bands settled on Badger Creek. The westernmost settlement, farthest upstream, was that of the Black Door Band, under Chief After Buffalo. It was just east of the present crossing of Badger Creek by the road from Browning to Heart Butte. Downstream, near the site of the first agency on Badger Creek, was the Lone Eater's Band, led by Chief Running Crane. On the north side of the stream, opposite present Mad Plume School, lived a mixed group composed of families from several of the old hunting bands, under Big Plume's leadership. Below this group was the large Grease Melters' Band, under the noted Chief Three Suns. And farther downstream was Chief Little Dog's Black-patched Moccasins Band.

Just west of Old Agency, on land now crossed by the highway from Great Falls to Browning lived the Indians' "white brothers-in-law," the white men who had taken Piegan wives. Below them was the agency, and near it stood about one hundred log cabins built to house the old people when Old Agency was erected in 1879. The little remnant of the once large and powerful Small Robes Band, led by Chief Lodge Pole, occupied cabins just east of the agency.

[366] About one mile east of the agency, on a flat south of Badger Creek, was the trader's store. Below it were settled the members of the Buffalo Dung Band. Farther downstream were some of the older people of the Black-patched Moccasins Band, led 796 by Shaggy Bear Chief. It was on the flat south of this band that 237 the Piegans held their first sun dance after the buffalo were gone --the first in which cattle tongues were the sacred food.

797 from Christian missionaries. In 1890 the census estimated that "5 per cent of these Indians are Roman Catholics and the others are sun worshipers."[19] Not until three years later was a permanent Protestant mission established on the reservation. Then Rev. and Mrs. Dutcher built a Methodist church on Willow Creek near the boarding school.

177 657 Meanwhile, some of the agents charged with the difficult task of reporting the Indians' progress toward civilization were not satisfied with the results they could obtain by example and persuasion alone. They offered bribes or threatened punishments in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' savage life 177 which were distasteful to them. Disregarding the time-honored ● 796 American principle of freedom of religion, they directed their attack primarily against the Indians' tribal ceremonial, the sun 657 dance. In 1887 Agent Baldwin ordered members of the Indian Police not to participate in or to encourage this ceremony. He exacted a pledge of each Indian who received a brood mare from the government that he would take no part in the sun dance. Consequently, there was no sun dance the following summer.[20] 177 Major Baldwin also pointed with pride to the fact that he had 657 required all members of the Indian Police to cut their hair and to "abstain from the objectionable habit of painting their faces."[21] [302] Friends of the Indians prevailed upon Washington officials to remove this hostile agent.

[796] Yet, six years later, Captain Lorenzo Cook, another strict disciplinarian, ordered two sun dance lodges used in previous years to be torn down and the timbers used for erecting branding cor- [533] rals. He prohibited not only the sun dance but "Indian mourning, [765] beating the tom-tom, gambling, and wearing Indian costumes" as well. And he tried to discourage "less pernicious practices such [525] as horse racing." Captain Cook even asked the traders not to [291] stock the paints Indians used for painting their faces.[22] Short

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[541]

[19] *Report of Indians Taxed and Not Taxed,* U. S. Bureau of Census, 360.

[20] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888, 151–52.

[21] Mark D. Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1886, Indian Office Records.

[22] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894, 159.

[ca. 1880-1900]

Short
Face, one of my elderly informants, recalled that this unsympa- 177
thetic agent sentenced Indians who cut off their fingers in mourn- 657
ing or built a sweat lodge to thirty days in jail. He even threat- 689
ened to jail women who did beadwork.

Such efforts to force the Indians to abandon their traditional
ceremonies and customs served only to rouse the Indians' resent- 177
ment. After the persecuting agents were replaced, the Piegans 657
resumed the forbidden practices with even greater zeal. Under
less hostile agents they revived and continued the sun dance, 177
making only one concession to the interests of the whites. They 796
moved the ceremony ahead several weeks so it would coincide
with the white man's July 4 holiday season. In 1900 boys were
playing hooky from Willow Creek School to visit the picturesque
sun dance encampment near by.[23]

Often visitors from neighboring tribes formerly hostile to the
Blackfeet visited the sun dance encampment. These visits were 177
accompanied by exchanges of gifts between the visitors and 431
their hosts. The Assiniboins from the east gave the Piegans shiny
catlinite pipe bowls, beautifully made buckskin suits decorated [276]
with porcupine quillwork, and breastplates and necklaces of [292]
bone hairpipes. Piegan women admired the feather designs em- [301]
ployed in Assiniboin quillwork and copied them in their own [531]
beadwork. The Assiniboins also gave some Piegan men flowing
feather bonnets of the Sioux type, which became very popular 177
with Blackfoot leaders for ceremonial wear and for dress-parade 292
headgear. By the turn of the century, some Piegan men were
making these bonnets as skillfully as the Sioux craftsmen. The
traditional straight-up bonnet of the Blackfeet was becoming
obsolete.

From the Assiniboins in the mid-nineties the Piegans also ac- 177
quired the grass dance, a lively, young men's social dance with 535
its associated paraphernalia of deer hair roaches and hawk bells
which jingled merrily as the dancers cavorted.

Friendly Crow Indians gave the Piegans moccasins and pen- 177
dants of human hair which could be worn by a short-haired In- 291
302

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[23] *Ibid.*, 1900, 267.

[ca. 1880-1900]

177 [291 302 ● 796] dian on dress occasions to create the impression that his hair was long. The Crows also transferred one of their sacred ceremonies, which the Piegans called the "Crow Water Beaver Ceremony." It became so popular that the Montana Piegans taught it to their North Piegan relatives in Canada in 1905.[24]

177 237 [415] From west of the Rockies, the formerly hostile Flatheads, Kutenais, and Nez Percés brought cornhusk-and-yarn flat pouches and many well-dressed deerskins and elk hides. In return, the Piegans gave their western friends beautifully beaded men's suits and women's dresses. Piegan women readily acknowledged the superior skill of the Flatheads and Kutenais in dressing skins. By the turn of the century they were obtaining the great majority of the skins employed in their own craftwork in trade or
[281] by gift from those overmountain tribes. Very few Piegan women bothered to continue the arduous labor of fleshing, scraping, and softening buckskin.

541 It was like old times for the Piegans to gather for a few weeks in summer, set up their tipis, take off their white men's somber garments and don their colorful Indian clothes, paint their faces, gamble on horse races and in the stick game, enjoy social dances, and, above all, to experience once again the religious stimulation of the great tribal sun dance. Women made handsome costumes for their menfolk and other fine craftwork for presents to visitors
[555] from other tribes. Their rivalry as craftswomen was no less keen than was that of their menfolk, who bragged of their fine herds of horses and their success as cattlemen.

657 After the Indians spread out along the valleys of their reservation, many of them found it inconvenient to travel south to Badger Creek for their weekly rations. The agent found his headquarters poorly located for administering to the needs of his far-flung Indians. His agency had become an obsolete stockade of rotting logs. So in 1894 the agent and chiefs selected a new site nearer the center of the reservation, on Willow Creek, some two miles from the new railroad. There twenty-two new

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[24] McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 407–10. Describes this ceremony at the time of its transfer to the North Piegans.

annual fair was instituted to encourage improvement in the 657
quality of farm products and of such women's work as home 179
canning, needlework, and beadwork. As the program expanded, a flour mill was built, agricultural machinery purchased in limited quantities, and small numbers of pigs, chickens, and sheep were acquired by individual Indian families.

Prior to Campbell's superintendency, the tribal sun dance 657
encampment had occupied a full month of the Indians' time at 796
a crucial period in early summer when they should have been home tending to their crops or livestock. Campbell was sympathetic toward the Indians' religious traditions, but he was also a practical man. He and the Indians worked out a compromise. Instead of a single tribal sun dance there would be three of th[illegible] in three districts of the reservation. Each family would [illegible] the ceremony held nearest its home. The encampment [illegible] of a single week's duration. Even then, Big Lodge Pol[illegible] on bringing his cow, chickens, and pigs to the 1923 en[illegible]nt in his district, saying that he did not want to neglect [illegible]ock, but did not want to miss the sun dance either. Every eve[illegible]ng he sent one of his sons on horseback to make sure that h[illegible] crops were doing all right back home.

The Five-year Program achieved its greatest success among 657
the older and middle-aged fullbloods who took pride in being 179
able to feed themselves and their families through their own labors in small-scale farming operations. The modest accomplishments of some of them were widely publicized. Thus, by the fall of the second year of the Five-year Program, it could be said of Bull Calf, president of the Bull Calf Chapter:

> This old man has a married son living on the place with him and they work together. They have three stacks of hay, wheat enough for their flour and for seed; also some oats. They have a good root-house full of potatoes, and other vegetables. They were laying in their winter's supply of wood and had a few loads already hauled.

492 than necessary so that if the front of the handle cracked they could
turn the whip around and use the hanger end for the lash until they
492 had an opportunity to make a new whip. Women generally made
whip handles of serviceberry. A hole was burned through the handle
322 about 2 inches from the lash end, and shallow channels were cut in
283 each side leading from this hole to the lash end of the handle. A narrow rawhide lash was pushed through the hole and passed through a longitudinal slit in the rawhide at the end of the handle. The two ends were then braided a few times. The remainder of the lashing hung loose. One or two inches from the other end of the handle another hole was burned through which the rawhide wrist hanger was passed.

492 Elkhorn-handled whips were made while the horn was green.
The honeycomb center at the front end of the handle was burned out
321 with a hot wire. A small hole was then burned at one side of the handle about 2 inches from the front. The rawhide lashing was then doubled and the folded end pushed into the front hole far enough so that a wooden or antler plug could be driven into the side hole to hold the rawhide in place. The wrist hanger was attached as was that of the wooden-handled whip. Some wooden-handled ones also used the plug method of lash attachment (fig. 17).

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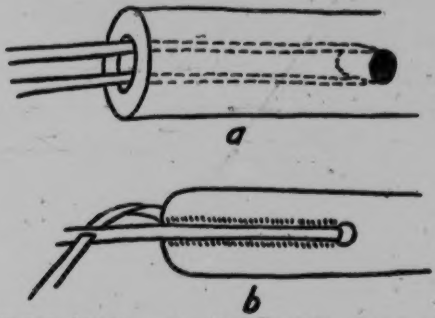

FIGURE 17.—Methods of whip construction, Blackfoot. *a*, Plug attachment of lash in an elkhorn-handled whip; *b*, channel attachment of lash in a wooden-handled whip.

492 These were the most common Blackfoot whip types. However,
other forms were made occasionally. A unique specimen is the whip
492 with a wooden handle carved in the form of a horse's head, in the
collections of the Museum of the Plains Indian. This whip was used
796 by the medicine women during the ritualized preliminary marches
[532] to the Sun Dance encampment. However, the whip employed in the

Horse Dance, the cult ceremony of the horse medicine men, was of conventional type (pl. 16, *B*, *e*).[illegible] A 492 796

HORSE DECORATION

Some young men among the Blackfoot roached the manes or split the ears of their favorite mounts "just to make them look pretty." However, most horse decorations were of a more temporary character, employed on special occasions. These occasions were: (1) in the "riding big dance" preliminary to a raid for scalps, (2) in battle, (3) on return to camp from a successful horse raid, (4) on visiting other tribes, (5) in sham battles honoring visitors, and (6) in the ritual camp movements immediately preceding the establishment of the Sun Dance encampment in late summer. 492 231

In the 1870's, Bradley mentioned the main types of Blackfoot horse decoration. "On occasion of ceremony the horses were ornamented with dashes of paint on the face and body and with feathers fastened to the mane and tail and sometimes by a mask made of the head of the buffalo, the horns attached, the eyes of the horse appearing through the original eye holes of the skin" (Bradley, 1923, p. 265). The limited comparative data available is sufficient to show that none of these methods of ornamentation was peculiar to the Blackfoot. [171]

HEAD ORNAMENTS

Among the valuable possessions of the second chief of the North Blackfoot, Old Sun, seen by Wilson in 1887, was— 492 714

> a very elaborate headgear for a horse to wear when going into battle. One part of it covered the head like a mask, holes being left for the eyes, and was fitted with a pair of horns; the other part was a sort of banner, to be suspended to the

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[illegible] The common Blackfoot types of elkhorn and wooden-handled whips were widely diffused in the Plains and Plateau. Maximilian (1833) mentioned both wood and elkhorn-handled whips in use among the Assiniboin. However, he claimed the Mandan whip handles were of wood only, and mentioned only elkhorn-handled whips among the Crow (Maximilian, 1906, vol. 22, pp. 349, 391; vol. 23, pp. 10, 345). However, Larocque, while traveling with the Crow in the summer of 1805, noted that they stopped on the Little Horn to procure whip handles. "There is plenty of ash here. There were few persons in the Camp that were not employed in making themselves horse whip handles with that wood; it was with that design that they came here, as that wood is seldom found elsewhere" (Larocque, 1910, p. 38). Omaha used both wood and "bone" whip handles (Dorsey, 1896, p. 280). Both types were employed by the Plateau tribes (Teit, 1930, pp. 111, 334. Kiowa informants spoke only of wooden-handled whips, cedar preferred, in use among their people. However I have seen elkhorn-handled whips collected from that tribe. A whip said to have been used by the Sac and Fox chief Keokuk, in 1832, is in the U. S. National Museum collections (No. 167, 149). The handle is of horn, the lash of rawhide. Were it not for its elaborately beaded wrist hanger, this specimen could be lost in Blackfoot collections. [171]

Trade whips were furnished the Indians at an early date. In February 1835, Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis ordered "4 dozen Riding whips for Indians, Showy, and not high priced" from the American Fur Co., in New York (American Fur Co. Pap., N. Y. Hist. Soc., Orders Inward, book 1, p. 59). However, the Mexican braided-horsehair quirt does not appear to have been common among the Plains Indians. [171]

A [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

361 third quarter of the 19th century. It also was the site of a winter trading post operated by Baker and Bro. of Fort Benton, licensed Indian traders in 1868–69 (Bradley, 1923, pp. 346–347).[67]

Bradley, on the basis of information furnished by Alexander Culbertson, stated that in earlier times (ca. 1833) the Piegan wintered on Sun and Teton Rivers and sometimes as far south as the Three Forks of the Missouri. At that time the Blood Indians wintered on the Marias or on Belly River, and the North Blackfoot on Belly and Bow Rivers (Bradley, MSS., Mont. Hist. Soc., book A, p. 179). There is no indication that the Piegan wintered as far south as the Three Forks after 1850.

805 825 When geese were seen flying north the Blackfoot knew it was time to leave their winter camps. Beaver bundle owners kept a sort of calendar on notched sticks, one notch representing each day, by means of which they could predict the day on which geese would be [796] sighted in the spring. When the river ice broke up, and before leaving winter camp, the beaver ceremony was held. The approach of spring also was determined by the band chief through observation of the development of embryos taken from buffalo cows killed by hunters. When he noted that the unborn calves began to develop 361 hair he knew spring was near and calves would soon drop. Breakup of the winter camp usually occurred in late March or early April, depending upon the severity of the winter. Thus the nomadic Blackfoot spent at least 5 months of the year in relatively fixed residences.

SPRING HUNTING AND COLLECTING SEASON

221 March was remembered by elderly Indians as a difficult month during which the buffalo began to drift eastward and northeastward away from the Indians' winter villages. The bands would be forced to subsist on smaller game or go hungry unless they packed and [621] moved after the buffalo. Each band went its separate way in pursuit of buffalo. Buffalo calves generally were born in the period be- [224] tween the end of winter and the annual May storm. Numerous calves were killed for children's robes and soft skin bags. The medicine [796] pipe ceremony, held on the occasion of the first thunder in spring, [391] generally was observed in April or May. It was also the season for [294] making willow back rests, construction and repair of riding gear, and fashioning of warm-weather clothing. During this season the

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[171] [67] In October, 1859, Snowden's detached party of Raynolds' Expedition saw a locality on the South Fork of Cheyenne River, S. Dak., in the Teton Dakota country which was much used by Indians for winter camps because of its natural advantages: "A bottom enclosed and protected by hills, filled with large cottonwood, and young groves that would furnish sustenance to almost any number of horses; good grass covers the bottom and neighboring hills" (Raynolds, 1868, pp. 158–159).

horses, thinned and weakened by winter, fattened on the spring 221
grasses. Toward the end of spring women and children dug prairie
turnips and sometimes bitterroot and camass with fire-hardened, [222]
birch digging sticks. These roots provided a welcome change in diet [262]
after a winter of eating meat and dried foods.

This spring season, during which the separate bands hunted and collected plant foods, may be regarded as a transitional period of relatively short duration between the breakup of the long winter camps and the formation of the tribal summer encampment. Generally it lasted little more than 2 months, during which frequent moves were made. In bionomic terms it may be characterized as the period between the drift of buffalo eastward from the winter camps shortly before the birth of calves in spring and the time when buffalo bulls became prime in June.

SUMMER HUNTING AND SUN DANCE SEASON

Informants claimed the longest time the Blackfoot tribes remained 361
in one place, except for the period of the winter camps, was during
the period the scattered bands assembled for the tribal summer hunt.
During the spring season a woman who had vowed to give the Sun 361
Dance that summer told the chief of her band of her vow. He dis- 796
patched a messenger with pipe and tobacco and the message to the
chief of another band of his tribe. That chief notified another band 202
chief in the same way, and the process continued until all of the
scattered bands received the word. The first invitation usually was
sent out when the berries were in blossom in late spring. Generally 361
the bands began to assemble to form the great tribal camp circle
around early June. The bands had been scattered over a wide area.
Some Piegan bands, for example, may have traveled north or east of
the Sweetgrass Hills, some bands to the lower Marias or south of the
Missouri, while others may have been westward on Sun River or
near the mountains digging camass and/or bitterroot. It required
several weeks for all of the bands to come together at the appointed
place and take their assigned places in the tribal camp circle.

When all the bands had come in, the organized tribal summer hunt 224
began, under the leadership of the tribal head chief and strictly regu-
lated by society police. This hunt provided hides for the construc- 237
tion of new lodge covers, meat, and especially tongues needed by the
medicine woman for use in the Sun Dance ceremony. Only bull
tongues were collected for this purpose and as many as 300 tongues
might be required. After the tongues were received they were pre-
pared and dried by the medicine woman's female helpers. Then the 361
head chief sent two experienced warriors to search for a site for the 796

361 Sun Dance encampment. The neighborhood of the Sweetgrass Hills
was a favorite site for the Piegan Sun Dance in late buffalo days, but
796 it was often held at other locations within their range.

When the site was selected, usually at no great distance from where
camp was located at the time of selection, the whole camp made
four moves on 4 successive days. On the fourth day the site of the
361 Sun Dance encampment was reached. These daily moves were in the
796 nature of dress parades. The Indians wore their finest clothes,
decorated their horses with their best trappings, and the men rode
541 with their weapons and shields exposed to view. The medicine
woman who had vowed the ceremony rode a travois horse. She was
careful not to hang anything on the saddle in front of her. The
natoas bundle was carried behind her. The sacred tongues were
packed on her travois and on top of them was placed a fringed, rawhide bag holding her ceremonial paints, badger skins, and pipe. The
three sticks used later to support her ceremonial bonnet (a part of
the bundle) were tied alongside one of the travois shafts.

796 The Sun Dance was timed to coincide with the ripening of the
sarvisberries, or dogfootberries farther east. This was in the
month of August. The first sarvisberries were served to dancers in
the Sun Dance lodge. Sun Dance ceremonies consumed 8 to 10 days, at
the end of which the camp circle was dissolved and the bands separated
for the fall hunt.

221 This summer season usually occupied 2 or 3 months from some
time in June to about the beginning of September. It was the only
361 season of the year in which the bands of the tribe camped in one village
in the form of a circle of lodges. (See pl. 8.) At other seasons the
separate bands did not use the camp circle arrangement of lodges.

FALL HUNTING AND COLLECTING SEASON

224 In the fall, buffalo cows, whose meat was much preferred to that of
bulls, were prime. This was the great buffalo hunting season, when
[252] large numbers of animals were killed and quantities of meat were obtained, and when berries were collected and mixed with meat and
251 tallow to make pemmican. Each family endeavored to put up as much
dried meat, berries, and pemmican as their winter needs or their means
221 of transportation would permit. It was an active season, during which
the number of camp moves was determined largely by the available
361 supply of meat. Obviously camp could not be moved while women
were busy drying meat and berries, and making pemmican. During
a successful fall hunt stops of a week or longer in one locality were not
uncommon. On the other hand, if a band failed to come upon buffalo

- Tools, utensils, and crafts media—Continued
  - Fuel (dung). 237
  - Fly brushes (tail on stick). 412
  - Glue, used in arrow making (boiled phallus).
  - Skin softening agents (brains, fat, and liver). 415
  - Thread (sinew, occasionally rawhide).
  - Pipe-polishing medium (fat).
  - Paint-mixing medium (fat).
  - Paint brushes (hip bone or shoulder blade).
  - Quill flattener (horn).
  - Tool for dehairing rope, (skull).
- Riding and transport gear:
  - Frame-saddle covering (rawhide). 237
  - Pad-saddle covering (soft skin).
  - Pad-saddle stuffing (hair). 492
  - Saddle-rigging straps (rawhide).
  - Stirrup coverings (scrotum or rawhide).
  - Martingales, simple form (rawhide).
  - Cruppers, simple form (rawhide).
  - Parfleches (rawhide).
  - Rectangular saddlebags (rawhide). 237
  - Cylindrical saddlebags (rawhide). 415
  - Dougle-bags (rawhide).
  - "Gros Ventres bags" (soft skin).
  - Tobacco pouches (calfskin).
  - Berry bags (unborn calfskin).
  - Bridles (rawhide or hair).
  - Honda ring (horn). 237
  - Hackamores (rawhide).
  - Lariats (rawhide). 492
  - Picket ropes (rawhide).
  - Hobbles (rawhide).
  - Saddle blankets (skin or robe).
  - Saddle housings (robe).
  - Travois hitches (rawhide).
  - Pole hitches (rawhide).
  - Miscellaneous tie strings (rawhide).
  - Horse blankets (robe, or top of old lodge).
  - Horse-watering troughs (rawhide).
  - Horseshoes (rawhide).
- Recreational equipment:
  - Boys' sleds (rib runners, skin seat). 237
  - Girls' sleds (large pieces rawhide).
  - Ball stuffing (hair). [493]
  - Hoop and pole game hoop netting (rawhide). [524]
- Ceremonial and religious paraphernalia: [526]
  - Sun Dance altars (skull).
  - Bindings for Sun Dance lodge rafters (strips of hide with hair). 237
  - Rattles (hoofs and rawhide).
  - Horse masks (skin and horn). 796
  - Winding sheets for dead (skin or robe).
  - Beaver bundle headdress (hide with hair).
  - Matoki (Woman's Society) headdresses (hide with hair).

All this time Wolf Calf didn't know how his stallion had been treated by his neighbor. One night his stallion, Gone-in-Different-Brush, appeared to him in his dream, and said, "Father, tell that man to let me alone. Don't let him abuse me any more. Help me and I shall give you great power that you can use all your life." Wolf Calf then told his neighbor, "Don't harm that horse any more. I'll catch him and break him." Wolf Calf broke the stallion and always was careful to treat him well, petting him and giving him special attention. 794 787 231

About a year later the stallion again appeared to Wolf Calf in a dream. "Father," he said, "I am grateful for your kindness to me. I want to repay you. You will always have a lot of horses. Wherever you are I shall be with you to help you. Now I shall give you the sacred dance of the horses. We dance it. It will be your secret. Let your people keep it from generation to generation."

Each time Wolf Calf caught his stallion after that he saw paint on it. The horse grew old and Wolf Calf continued to dream of it. It became so old grass dropped from its mouth when it fed. Finally it died. Then Wolf Calf cut some of the dead horse's mane and the soft chestnut from one leg and kept them in a bundle in his lodge as a remembrance of his favorite horse. [778]

Wolf Calf felt badly and continued to think of that horse. A few months later he had a dream in which the wild horse he had kept in his herd for 4 days some years before appeared to him. The wild horse said, "I know you miss your favorite horse. I want you to know I appreciate what you did for me too. You didn't kill me, but let me go. Father, I am Sitting-on-a-Hill. I shall give you my power. I'll give you all the roots that grow in the ground that we horses like to eat. They will be your medicine." 794 787 778

Later Wolf Calf, in another dream, saw people dancing the horse dance. They were arguing. One said, "What shall we do?" Another said, "We shall give him secret power to cure the people?" The first one said, "No, we shall give him secret power to cure horses." Finally they agreed, "Let us throw these powers together. Let us give him power to do both."

Then Wolf Calf told his friends of his dreams for the first time. "I have dreamed of this power a long time. Through my horses and these men I was given secret power. I am going to dance the dance just as I saw it. I shall call it the horse dance." The people gathered to watch Wolf Calf dance the horse dance.

Some time later Wolf Calf was watching horses grazing beside a river. As he approached he saw them pawing with their forefeet, digging up roots. He found a root partly unearthed and picked it up. It was about 6 inches long. When he started home with it the horses followed him. That night he was told in another dream, "This root you found will be good for many things. If a horse is sick take some of this root, grind it into a powder and mix it with sage. Then give it to the sick horse. Put it in water, throw the horse down and let him drink it. The horse will be able to eat and you will save it." Then Wolf Calf gave another dance and gathered the people around. He told them of his new power. They agreed, "This is a very powerful dance." 794 787 778 231 [796]

Wolf Calf tried all the medicines he was told of in dreams. Some were for sickness. If a man couldn't eat, a certain root would restore his appetite. If someone felt lazy a little powdered medicine would make him feel energetic again. There was also a medicine to turn a fine day into a raging blizzard or to make rain come on a dry day. 794 787 778

Then Wolf Calf told the people, "If anyone is sick we shall give the secret horse dance. It will pull him through. If a war party is surrounded by the enemy and one of that party vows to give me a feast and invite me to dance, that man will escape unharmed." 794 796 [755] [789]

794 Night Gun said Wolf Calf transferred some of his horse medicine
power to his son-in-law, Fish Child. Fish Child then began to have
dreams of horse medicine. He and Wolf Calf decided to pool their
794 knowledge. Lazy Boy claimed Fish Child's primary contribution
231 was his discovery of a medicine for stimulating an exhausted horse.
Lazy Boy credited Wolf Calf with originating the use of horse medicine
794 for influencing the actions of race horses. Fish Child transferred
horse medicine to Boy (born ca. 1848), the Gros Ventres brought
[778] up by a Piegan chief. Boy dreamed of a whip and a rope. These
sacred articles were added to the leader's bundle and have been employed
[796] in the horse dance ceremony ever since.

Night Gun mentioned no other Piegan who made any significant contribution to the elaboration of the sacred paraphernalia, ritual, or medicinal practices of Piegan horse medicine men. He was familiar with the history of some of the transfers of this power among the Piegan. Fish Child transferred some of his power to Stingy, the blind man renowned as a breeder of horses, who in turn transferred at least a part of his paraphernalia, "the double whip," to Eagle Child, who died near Starr School in 1941. Fish Child also transferred some of his power to White Grass, a band chief. In his last illness Fish Child gave his power to his son, Black Coyote (born ca. 1831). Weasel Head (who died in 1943) received some horse medicine from Boy.

[821] Tracing the transfers from Wolf Calf since the time of his exchange
of medicines with Fish Child, Night Gun told of at least one occasion
[789] on which Wolf Calf aided White Quiver, the most successful of all
Piegan horse raiders, by giving him one of the plumes from his bundle and explaining how it could be used to bring stormy weather when White Quiver approached an enemy camp to capture horses. Wolf Calf also gave some medicine and a plume to Iron Shield. Little Plume received some of Wolf Calf's medicine, and shortly before his death gave it to his brother, Yellow Kidney (still living). The gift included two horse medicine songs.

794 Night Gun said his grandfather, Wolf Calf, carefully taught him
the songs and ritual of the horse dance and the uses of some horse
756 medicines. Wolf Calf intended for Night Gun to be his successor
as leader of the cult. However, when Wolf Calf died, his son White Antelope (born ca. 1860) claimed the sacred horse medicine bundle. There was an argument and Mike Short Man and White Antelope split the bundle. White Antelope lost interest in horse medicine, but noted that Phillip Arrowtop was becoming interested in it. On his death White Antelope left the bundle to Wallace Night Gun with the provision that Phillip Arrowtop (still living) should be given some of the paraphernalia and medicines. This was done. When Mike-

Short-Man was near death he offered his horse medicine to Night 794
Gun, but the latter requested that it be transferred to Herman Dusty
Bull, who wanted it. On Herman's death, his brother, Charles Dusty 756
Bull (still living) acquired this bundle, said to contain paints,
feathers, and some horse medicines.

These data indicate that the Piegan horse medicine cult originated 794
in the visions of one man, Wolf Calf, and was elaborated by the con-
tributions of at least two others, who willingly pooled their knowledge 178
with Wolf Calf. Since their time nothing has been added to the
ritual, materia medica, or medicinal practices of the cult. Horse
medicine powers were transferred to many other men. There was a
tendency for them to be transferred in fullblood families from brother
to brother or father to son. In the process much knowledge of the
employment of horse medicines was lost. In recent years the posses- [778]
sion of horse medicine songs and paraphernalia, entitling the owner [796]
at attend and participate in the horse dance, has been coveted, while
there has been little interest in the use of horse medicine to cure or in- [231]
fluence the actions of horses. It is certain that the uses of many spe-
cific medicines are no longer known. In the early 1940's, only Wal- [756]
lace Night Gun and Phillip Arrowtop were thought to be capable of
using horse medicines. In recent years the primary function of the [755]
cult has been the observance of the traditional horse dance for the
purpose of curing sick humans.

That this is not a comprehensive history of the Piegan horse medi- 794
cine cult is apparent from the fact that elderly informants named
other horse medicine men active in that tribe in buffalo days. While 756
it is probable these men obtained their powers from Wolf Calf they
may have made some independent discoveries.

My eldest male informants, Lazy Boy and Weasel Tail, claimed
that Water-Old-Man, a Blood Indian, older than Wolf Calf, possessed
and used horse medicine before Wolf Calf originated the cult among
the Piegan. If that is true, Wolf Calf's dreams may have been con-
ditioned by his knowledge of Water-Old-Man's practices. In the
Blood tribe, as among the Piegan, there was a tendency for horse
medicine power to be transferred within families. However, Weasel
Tail could not recall two members of the same family possessing this
power at the same time. No one now living on the Blood Reserve
has knowledge of the use of horse medicine in the opinion of all Blood
informants questioned on this point. The bundles of the best-remem- 778
bered practitioners in that tribe, Water-Old-Man and Owner-of-a-
Sacred-White-Horse, were said to have been buried with them. Ghost
Woman, the last Blood Indian known to have made extensive use of
horse medicine, died about 1925. Knowledge of its use was lost on
her death although her bundle remained in her family. Although 794
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> When I was a boy about 17 years of age, I met an old Blood Indian named 778
> Rain Maker one day while I was returning to camp with two buffalo I had
> killed. I told the old man to take them both. Rain Maker prayed for me, 437
> then he said, "My boy, you will live to be an old man like I am." He then told
> me to kill two more buffalo so that he might have four tongues. I killed the
> buffalo and took him the tongues. The old man, who was known as a horse 778
> medicine man, then invited me to a feast at which other horse medicine men
> were present. During the ceremony Rain Maker got down on all fours in front 437
> of me singing. He held his fists tightly clenched and moved his hands back
> and forth in imitation of a horse pawing with his forefeet. When Rain Maker 796
> finished his singing and pawing the ground in front of me he said, "Now, my
> boy, you are foolish. I have just offered you this medicine and you didn't take
> it. I wanted to help you. The medicine in my right hand is for doctoring horses.
> The one in my left hand is for horse racing. They are very powerful." Then
> the old man told me that since I had not grasped one of his hands while he was
> pawing and singing I could not have any of his medicine.[illegible] I realized then that
> I had made a great mistake. But before that I knew no better. Never again did
> I seek horse medicine.

In former times the horse medicine man did not relinquish his own 778
right to make use of medicines after transferring the right to another.
However, in recent years Indians have transferred horse medicine 425
songs and paraphernalia, relinquishing all title to them, but retaining
the right to attend the horse dance. Perhaps the recent concept of [177]
transfer of title has been applied only since the Indians became thoroughly familiar with the white man's concept of property rights in
reservation days, and since the decadence of the employment of horse
medicines as means of influencing the actions of horses.

THE HORSE DANCE: CEREMONY OF THE HORSE MEDICINE MEN

Wallace Night Gun said the ceremony of the horse medicine cult 796
was properly termed "the horse dance." In the old days it was held
primarily on occasions of transfer of horse medicine powers. On [437]
occasion Wolf Calf employed the ceremony as a means of testing the knowledge of other horse medicine men. After he had assembled the horse medicine men, he took one of his medicines from his bundle, for example, a certain root used in his practice. He chewed it, rubbed some dirt on it, then called upon any other man who possessed the power to make use of that root to prove it. The medicine was passed among the assembled horse medicine men until it reached one who had knowledge of its use. He drummed and sang the songs appropriate to its use, threw the medicine on his body, and caused it to disappear. He then removed it from some other part of his body and threw the root back to Wolf Calf. In a gathering of horse medi-

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[illegible] A parallel procedure occurred in the Blackfoot ceremony of transfer of the bear knife. Informants said that near the close of that ceremony the owner, after imitating the antics of the bear, threw this dangerous weapon at the prospective owner. If he failed to catch the knife he did not gain possession of this sacred object.

796 cine men there might have been as many as three or four who possessed
the secret of the use of the designated medicine. Each in turn gave
proof of his power by singing the songs of that medicine and the
755 sleight-of-hand performance just described. In recent years, how-
ever, the horse dance has served primarily as a ceremony for curing
sick humans.

796 Invitations to attend the horse dance were extended to recognized
horse medicine men and to medicine pipe men who possessed horse
medicine songs by presenting each with a feather from the leader's
bundle (pl. 16, *A*, *a*)A. The person who requested the ceremony was
responsible for delivery of the feathers. Before the leader handed the
feathers to him for distribution he chewed some of his horse medi-
cine and blew some of it on the feathers, then toward the messenger.
Then he told him who was to receive each feather and reminded him
that on presenting the feather he was to tell the recipient only the
place and time of meeting. If a man failed to attend after receiving
a feather, he must, on the next day, tie a rock to it and throw it into a
lake or stream to avoid bad luck. The leader later added a new feather
to the bundle to replace the one thus destroyed. Each man who at-
tended the ceremony gave his feather to the leader as he entered the
lodge. The leader returned the feathers to his bundle.

Wallace Night Gun claimed he observed the horse dance just as
123 Wolf Calf, who taught it to him, had practiced it. As leader of the
cult on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana he kindly invited me
[124] to attend one of the ceremonies. The description of this ceremony
that follows is based upon my own observations of the horse dance
plus interpretations of the esoteric aspects of the ritual furnished by
Wallace Night Gun a few days later.[38]

796 The horse dance was performed on that occasion in the combined
living room and kitchen of the frame home of my interpreters, Reuben
755 and Cecile Black Boy, in the Moccasin Flat section of Browning on
the evening of March 29, 1943. Neither Reuben nor Cecile attended,
stating that they were not cult members and hence did not think it
[852] proper that they should attend the ritual. Night Gun told me, how-
ever, there was no prohibition against nonmembers witnessing the
ceremony, but children were excluded for fear they might later try
[777] to imitate some of the songs or gestures employed in the ritual. It
was considered very bad luck to employ these songs or gestures outside
their proper ceremonial context.

There were less than a dozen witnesses other than the participants.
Among them was a young woman who had been in poor health all

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[114] [38] This description may be compared with Clark Wissler's short paragraph on the ceremony published in 1912 (Wissler, 1912 a, pp. 109-110). My informants said that Red Plume, Wissler's informant, was not a member of the horse medicine cult.

A [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

winter, in whose honor the ceremony was given. Nearly all the 796
other witnesses were relatives of this woman or of the two male assistants 755
to the cult leader, both of whom had also been sickly that winter.
I was the only white person present.

The room in which the ceremony was held was roughly 12 feet wide by 25 feet long, extending in a general north-south direction. Wallace Night Gun, the cult leader, sat on the floor in the center of the south end of the room. He was flanked by members of the cult, 6 in number, and one medicine-pipe owner who had been invited to attend. They formed a wide arc facing north. In the center of the west wall stood the wood stove, and opposite it on the floor in front of the east wall sat the wives of the cult members. Witnesses were provided with chairs ranged in two rows at the north end of the room.

The horse dance ritual consumed more than 7 hours, beginning at
9:30 p. m. While the leader began to open his medicine bundle on 796
the floor in front of him, one of his two assistants, both of whom
were middle-aged men learning the ceremony, began the construction 755
of the ceremonial altar on the floor about 3 feet in front of Night Gun. 532
The assistant first spread a square piece of cloth on the floor and emptied a sack of fine gray earth upon it. Following the leader's instructions he smoothed the earth into a flat circular area about 30 inches in diameter with a cylindrical red-painted stick, 7 inches in length, from the leader's bundle (pl. 16, *A*, *f*)A. He then carefully picked out all the bits of stone remaining in the earth. Next, the leader told him to draw the outline of a square in the earth with the stick. He marked out a square a little over a foot on a side and ran a line in a north-south direction down the center of the square dividing it into two equal rectangles. He then extended from each corner of the square a zigzag furrow in the earth more than 6 inches long. Next he made a small depression in the earth about 4 inches north of the square. Night Gun requested the second assistant to take a live coal from the fire in the wood stove and place it in the depression. This he did with the wooden fire tongs shown on plate 16, *A*, *c*.A Then he placed sweetgrass on the coal to make a sweet-smelling smudge.
Night Gun then handed the first helper a packet of charcoal which he 796
sprinkled evenly over the rectangle comprising the west half of the
square so as to blacken it completely, and extended black lines in the 755
two zigzag furrows on the west side. Similarly he colored the east 822
rectangle and the two zigzag furrows on that side with red earth 532
paint. Next Night Gun handed the assistant two red and two black plumes, and he inserted them upright in the four corners of the square, beginning with the northwest corner (black) and continued in a clockwise order, i. e., northeast (red), southeast (red), and southwest (black).

A [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

796 755 532 [822] Construction of this ceremonial altar was slow and deliberate. Wallace Night Gun told me Wolf Calf had explained to him that he had been told how to make the altar in one of his dreams. It was important that it should be made in just that way for every horse dance ceremony. Night Gun said the red rectangle symbolized day and the black one night. The zigzag furrows represented "the thunder's lightning." The plumes were also required by Wolf Calf's dream. Wolf Calf used to give them to persons who requested his help. Hence they were renewed from time to time (pl. 16, *A*, b)[A]. The completed altar appeared as sketched in figure 33.

796 755 252 While the men rested, the wife of one of the cult members began to cut up three beef tongues on the floor near the center of the room. In front of her was a smudge in a tin pan. She made two passes with one hand toward the smudge before drawing longitudinal black lines with charcoal on each tongue, followed by the drawing of similar lines in red paint on each. Then she cut each tongue into small pieces each about 2 inches square. Wallace explained that only a woman who had been given this power could cut the tongues. If no such woman was in attendance at a horse dance, the leader would paint the face of one of the cult member's wives and instruct her in the ritual of tongue cutting. At any later ceremony that woman would be privileged to cut the tongues.

796 755 302 782 While this woman was at work, Night Gun called the young woman who had been in poor health, and for whose benefit the ceremony was given, to come to him. She knelt before him, as he uttered a prayer for her welfare. Then he painted her entire face and a band about one-half inch wide around each of her wrists with red paint, applying the paint with his thumbs. Next he prayed for and painted each of his two assistants and the owner of the medicine pipe bundle who was present. All of them I knew had been sickly that winter. The aged medicine pipe owner had been treated by several white doctors. (He died in the fall of 1947.)

Night Gun later told me it was customary for those who were blessed and painted to give him presents either before the ceremony or just prior to the painting. Unless the leader was satisfied that he was well paid he would not proceed with the ceremony. If satisfied, he instructed the other cult members present to remember these givers in their ritual prayers. The leader might also call upon any other witness, not a member of the cult, to come forward to be blessed. That witness need not pay for the privilege unless he was so disposed. Painting gave him the right to attend future horse dance ceremonies. Through witnessing the ceremony, listening to the songs, and studying the ritual he might eventually desire to buy into the cult.

[A] [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

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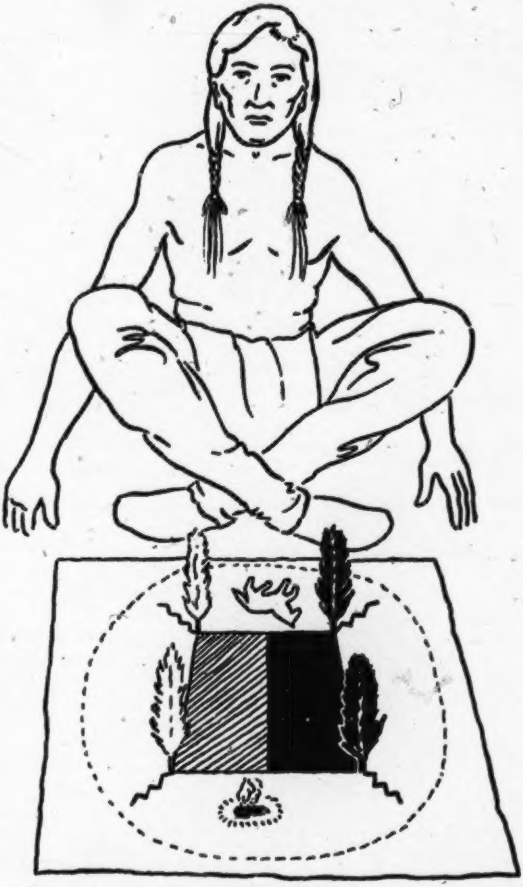

FIGURE 33.—Altar for the South Piegan horse dance ceremony.

Before the painting was finished the leader's second helper, seated on the floor northwest of the altar, began preparing tobacco for the cult members. He placed his knife on the smudge near the altar, then shaved a plug of commercial tobacco and mixed it with dried bearberry leaves (a common Blackfoot smoking mixture). The cult members then passed a pipe, consisting of a plain stem and a small black-

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796 755 [276] stone bowl from the leader's bundle (pl. 16, *B*, *c*)[A]. Meanwhile the woman who had cut the tongues painted three stripes of red paint on the inside of a large kettle and placed the tongues in it, making two feints toward the kettle with the first handful of meat before dropping it in the kettle. Water was added and the kettle was placed on the stove to boil.

The leader then drew from his bundle a little rawhide cutout figure of a horse in profile, 6½ inches long (pl. 16, *B*, *a*)[A]. He placed it on the earth south of the rectangular altar. He gave his second assistant a red-painted rock about the size of a fist, which the man carried to the front door of the house, made two passes at the door frame, then hit it with a resounding rap with the rock, and returned to his place. Night Gun said this was a caution to the horse medicine men never to fall over or bump a rock.

796 755 782 533 There followed praying, singing, and drumming by the horse medicine men. This was the most prolonged portion of the ritual. First the leader offered a prayer to the spirit of the rawhide horse, then sang three of his ritual songs, accompanied by the beating of three drums held by himself and the two members of the cult nearest him on the left. When he had finished he passed his drum to the man on his left who in turn gave a prayer and sang three medicine songs owned by him. This combination of praying, drumming, and singing was continued until each cult member had performed individually. Then the entire cycle was continued twice more, until each member had sung his three songs three times. Night Gun said that if one of the singers was a new member who possessed only one song he was privileged to sing it three times each cycle. Meanwhile he tried to learn another song, which he might later purchase, by listening carefully to the others. The leader might loan a fellow member one of his songs for a particular ceremony, but it "went back to the bundle" when the ceremony ended. Men who had owned the same song as one being sung by another were permitted to join in the singing. The wives of some of the male singers also joined their husbands, singing softly from their stations near the center of the floor. The songs were wordless tunes in which the same stanzas were repeated many times. Some singers inserted a prayer between each song.

[574] [262] At the conclusion of this ritual[B] a meal was served to all persons present. It consisted of bread, crackers, boiled ribs, and coffee. It was then well past midnight. There followed a second session of singing, by the cult members, and after a brief rest, a third session. These were exact duplicates of the session described in detail above. In each of the three sessions each member sang three songs on each of three passings of the drums.

[A] [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

[B] [i.e., the ceremony of the horse medicine cult--Analyst]

Then came the ceremonial climax. Wallace Night Gun, the leader, 796
covered his head with a blanket and sang three songs. Then, pipe
in hand, he prayed to the spirits of Wolf Calf's horses, Sitting-on-a- 755
Hill and Gone-in-Different-Brush, the horses that had given Wolf
Calf his secret power. Night Gun then took from his bundle the
mane and chestnut of Wolf Calf's sacred stallion and prayed for the
sick who had requested the ceremony. Then, as other cult members
drummed, he rose and danced, holding a braided rawhide rope, noosed
at one end, and a whip over his wrist. Both were taken from his
bundle (pl. 16, *B*, *b*, *e*).[A] Three times as he danced he made gestures
toward the little rawhide horse in front of the altar as if to rope it,
holding the rope in his right hand. Then he repeated these gestures
with his left hand, and again with his right hand extended. Night [535]
Gun danced in place, always facing the altar.

The leader then sat down and called upon the tongue cutter to ask
if the tongue soup was ready to serve. Receiving an affirmative reply 796
he began to dismantle the altar. First he picked up the rawhide
horse and wrapped it. Then his first assistant removed the plumes 755
from the altar, one at a time, handed them to him, and he wrapped 532
them. Finally he asked for volunteers to destroy the remainder of the
altar. His first assistant and one of the cult members stepped for-
ward with blankets wrapped about their waists. Night Gun gave each 796
of them a bit of horse medicine which they chewed and rubbed on the
soles of their moccasins. The leader told them, "Now, dance up to 755
the painting three times; on the third time step on it and smash it down 535
flat." In accompaniment to the beating of drums, the two men danced 532
side by side toward the altar. Twice they retreated, rearing back-
ward like skittish horses. Then they boldly advanced with pawing
steps, stepped upon the altar, turned their feet upon it and destroyed
the painting.

Next the leader addressed the women sitting on the floor opposite 796
the stove. Two women rose, each with a cup in hand, and danced to-
ward the kettle on the stove, which had been boiling for hours. 755
Twice they retreated. The third time they placed their cups in the 262
kettle. The leader then told them to place three pieces of the tongue in
a cup and to set it in front of him. With a stick covered with red
paint he speared a piece of tongue, prayed for the sick woman, and
gave her the first piece. In succession he removed the other pieces and
gave one to each of his assistants.

The leader then instructed the women to take the earth that had composed the altar and the remains of the smudge outside, pray to them, and bury them where people would not step. Next he picked up the painted rock, prayed no one would be hurt by stepping on a rock

[A] [See category 778, p. 358-0--Analyst]

796 on the way home and that none of their horse's feet would be harmed
by rocks. He gave it to one of the sick men and told him to take it to
755 a stream on leaving the house, pray to it, and throw it into deep water.
262 Then the tongue soup was distributed to all those present. Having
consumed it, they went home.

796 In many respects the horse dance may be regarded as a typical Blackfoot ceremony. Wissler (1912 a, pp. 248–271) has pointed out that singing, drumming, dancing with sacred paraphernalia, praying, the passing of the pipe, face painting, the recognition of taboos, and the following of strictly formalized and prolonged ritual patterns were common characteristics of Blackfoot bundle ceremonies.
796 Even the employment of dry-painted altars appeared in other im-
532 portant bundle ceremonies (ibid., pp. 255–257). R. N. Wilson (1909,
pp. 16–20) in his detailed description of the use of a dry-painted altar
in the Sun Dance ritual, noted that this altar was destroyed before the
[822] medicine woman's party left her lodge. In that painting black symbolized night, and yellow day.[30]

796 Aside from the horse symbolism characteristic of the horse dance,
the most distinctive feature appears to be the repeated and consistent
801 employment of the ritual number 3. To my knowledge this is the only Blackfoot ceremony in which that ritual number occurs. In fact Wissler regarded 4 as the ritual number of all Blackfoot ceremonies, including the horse dance (Wissler, 1912 a, pp. 110, 247). In this detail his account of the ceremony is in error.

USES OF HORSE MEDICINE

791 The powers of Blackfoot horse medicine men, as explained by informants, were many and varied. Not only were they credited with
756 the ability to control the health and actions of horses but they were thought to have been able to influence the movements of buffalo and to cure and aid the activities of humans.

231 Horse medicine was most commonly employed in the treatment of
789 sick, injured, wounded, or exhausted horses. Curing of sick horses generally involved the administration of medicine by nose or mouth as a part of the ritual. Owners of valuable horses generally entrusted their treatment to experienced horse medicine men when these animals were ill. The medicine men were paid for their services.

Three Calf recalled that Wolf Calf frequently was called upon to doctor horses that were staggering and near death. Wolf Calf rubbed his medicine on the horse's nose, back, and kidneys, then shook its tail four (three?) times. If the horse made no move Wolf Calf told the owner there was no hope for it. If it moved it would get well.

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[171] [30] Wissler (1912 a, p. 257), has pointed out the occurrence of dry painting among the Dakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho of the Plains, as well as among the Southwestern tribes.

778 medicine men they were wrapped in separate bundles when not in
use. Wallace Night Gun said that men who were not horse medicine
[787] cult members were known to have dreamed of one of these bundles.
If the lay dreamer wished to make a bundle like the one seen in his
778 dream he went to a horse medicine man and asked for help. The latter
then told him to make the bridle just as it appeared in his dream and
791 to bring it to him to give it power. Upon payment the horse medicine
man gave the owner several little packages of horse medicine to tie
to the "horse bridle," together with instructions for the use of these
778 medicines. The owner attached this "horse bridle" to his horse when
he rode to war or rode in the riding big dance. It was believed to
231 make the horse lively, to keep it from falling, and to keep enemy
bullets from hitting it. Night Gun said men who dreamed of these
778 bridles also received songs in their dreams which were added to the
[533] collection of horse medicine cult songs. He claimed there were few
of these bridles among the Piegan in buffalo days. The only one I
saw on the Blackfeet Reservation was owned by a cult member.

796 Wissler (1912 a, p. 111) noted the introduction of horse medicine
ritual into the medicine pipe ceremony of the Blackfoot. Night Gun
said it was common practice for a medicine-pipe owner to ask a horse
medicine man to insure that the horse used to carry the medicine pipe
would not fall or be harmed while camp was on the move. The horse
medicine man used his sacred rope and whip in the ceremony of blessing
778 the horse of the medicine pipe man. He sang and transferred
three horse medicine songs to the pipe owner. He also transferred
796 some of his power to the whip and rope of that man. It is noteworthy
437 that a whip and rope are among the objects in the typical Blackfoot
medicine pipe bundle, and that horse medicine songs appear in that
ceremonial ritual. McClintock (1948, pp. 56–60) described a medicine
pipe transfer he witnessed in which not only the whip and rope but
also the saddle, bridle, and horse used to transport the pipe were transferred.
In that transfer ceremony four (three?) horse songs were
sung with great care "lest misfortune befall their horses." There
were restrictions that the horse employed to carry the medicine pipe
must be used only by its owner "lest some of his horse-herd sicken
and die," and that the medicine pipe owner "must not strike a dog or
horse, nor cut a horse's tail." The medicine-pipe owner who had
purchased three horse medicine cult songs was privileged to attend the
horse dance and to sing those three songs during the ceremony.

778 Less certain is the relationship between horse medicine and the
horse-painted lodge formerly found among the Piegan. Wissler and
342 Duvall (1908, p. 94) have published Head Carrier's version of the
origin legend of the horse-painted lodge. It is noteworthy that Head
Carrier was a North Piegan horse medicine man. John Old Chief

dles was "so fixed that one must suspect the present system of trans- 778
ferring bundles to have developed in its present form since the intro- 437
duction of the horse." Lack of information on the occurrence and
transfer of bundles in early times makes it impossible to check Wiss- 231
ler's hypothesis. Native tradition claims the Sun Dance and beaver 174
bundle originated before the introduction of horses. There is also a
tradition that the Blood Indians' Long Time Pipe was transferred
through dog payments before horses were known to these Indians.
It is possible that horses may have replaced slaves, dogs, robes, or
whatever other valuables may have been given to insure the transfer
of sacred objects in pre-horse times. The fact that horses, after their
introduction, were recognized as valuable media of exchange in sec- [436]
ular transactions probably would have encouraged their use as pay-
ments for medicine bundles as well. Whatever the origin of the close
association of horse payments with bundle transfers, it is certain that
it existed in 19th-century buffalo days. The owner of an important
sacred bundle received the petitioner who wished to obtain title to it
with mixed feelings. He weighed his loss of sacred power through
the relinquishment of his bundle against his gain through the acquisi-
tion of a number of fine horses offered in payment.

IN THE SUN DANCE CEREMONY

The influence of the horse made itself apparent at various stages of 796
the Sun Dance, the most important Blackfoot tribal religious cere-
mony. I have described (p. 128) the care given to the transport of 231
the medicine woman's sacred paraphernalia to the Sun Dance encamp-
ment on a horse travois. War honors, most commonly acquired on 796
horse raids, were required of both the cutter of the tree to be used for
the center pole, and by men who cut the thongs to bind the rafters to 231
the posts in the construction of the lodge. The latter rite was trans- 555
ferred through payment of a horse and other property. Before cut- [703]
ting the hide the cutter was required to raise his knife and publicly
declare four personal coups, which commonly included the capture of
enemy horses. In recent years older men who have counted coups
have stood as sponsors for younger men or women who paid to cut
the hide. Plate 17, *a*, portrays Makes-Cold-Weather (ca. 1866–1950),
one of the last of the Piegan veterans of intertribal horse raids, count-
ing his coups before his protege cut the hide in the Sun Dance near
Browning in 1943.

Men who underwent the excruciating self-torture in the Sun Dance 796
lodge (pl. 17, *b*), did so in fulfillment of vows, made before going into
dangerous action, to submit to the torture if they came through safely. 785
The two accounts of personal experiences in self-torture, which I ob-

A A [See category 796, p. 358-P--Analyst]

796 tained from elderly Blood Indians, indicate that the vows of both men
785 were made shortly before they entered enemy camps to steal horses.
There is a possibility that the Blackfoot tribes borrowed the Sun
[177] Dance torture from the Arapaho in the historic period, and hence since
the introduction of horses (Ewers, 1948 b, pp. 167–168, 171–172).

796 Three quarters of a century ago Bradley (1923, pp. 267–268) wrote
of the warriors who entered the Blackfoot Sun Dance to count their
555 coups during the closing days of the ceremony.

> 231 Those who desire the privilege of recounting their coups must first present a horse to someone at the door of the medicine lodge (an irrevocable gift), when he may enter the lodge and in his turn relate his exploits, illustrating them by gestures indicating the manner of their performance.
>
> The horse stealers, however, are not required to make the gift of a horse at the door but bring with them a bundle of sticks, and casting one into a fire kept burning in the lodge, say: "At such a time I stole so many horses at such a place, from some enemies." Then casting in another stick describe another occasion.

796 If the Blackfoot observed the Sun Dance before they obtained
horses, as was uniformly claimed by informants, it was none the less
231 influenced by the presence of the horse in historic times. The data cited above show that even the details of this most sacred tribal ritual were colored by Indian regard for and preoccupation with horses.

BELIEFS CONCERNING THE SUPERNATURAL POWERS OF HORSES

231 There was a general belief among the Blackfoot that horses possessed supernatural powers. Just as they believed some humans pos-
778 sessed stronger supernatural powers than others, so they thought the sacred powers of some horses were more potent than those of ordinary horses. I have referred (p. 259) to the two horses which were credited with having bestowed horse medicine powers upon their owner, Wolf Calf, in his dreams. Horses that performed deeds of unusual strength or endurance, that miraculously escaped from battle without a scratch, or received wounds thought to have been mortal yet recovered, were spoken of by informants as animals possessing potent "secret power." Their remarkable deeds were proof to the Indians of their possession of that power.

Weasel Tail cited a case which will prove this point.

> Heavenly Colt was a strong, gray horse born of a mare stolen from the Flathead by a Blood Indian. He was broken for riding at 3 years of age and proved to be an excellent war horse. After Heavenly Colt gained a wide reputation among the Indians, the Gros Ventres stole him. In the battle between the Piegan and Gros Ventres in the summer of 1866, Heavenly Colt was ridden by Sitting Woman, Gros Ventres head chief. During the action the horse was shot through the neck. Three Suns, a Piegan chief, ran to the horse and said, "It is too bad such a fine horse must die. I shall claim him until he dies." Then the horse dropped. But the next morning the Piegan saw a gray horse on a distant hill.

demanded an explanation. The Blackfoot looked upon the horse as a 771
godsend. In their mythology it was represented as a gift of powerful
sky or water spirits. Horses were thought to possess supernatural 231
powers. The ability of certain horses to perform feats of unusual 182
strength or endurance was proof to the Indians that those animals [773]
possessed those powers to a very high degree.

Some horses were believed to have appeared to their owners in [778]
dreams and conferred their powers upon them. Through such trans-
ference of powers the secret horse medicine cult was believed to have 794
originated. The relatively few members of this cult carefully 231
guarded their knowledge of the origin of their medicines and restricted their use by outsiders in such a way that their secrets would not be revealed. Members were feared and respected by fellow tribesmen to the extent that many aged Indians still fear to discuss the cult. There are no other Blackfoot ceremonial organizations whose secrets have been so closely guarded, with the possible exceptions of the Horn Society among the Blood and the Tobacco Planters of the North Blackfoot. The influence of horse medicine men's activities pervaded the fields of warfare, hunting, recreation, and curing, as well as the daily lives of their people. Their ritual practices were designed to heal sick and wounded horses and to cure humans, to revive exhausted horses, to assist individuals in capturing horses from the enemy or in handicapping enemy war horses, to prevent hunting horses from falling in slippery winter weather and to retard the movements of buffalo in the hunt, to handicap race horses, to capture wild horses, and to prevent horses from straying from their owner's herds. Their ceremony, the horse dance, followed the generalized Blackfoot ceremonial bundle pattern but had distinctive features. Taboos observed by horse medicine men also were distinctive. There was a close relationship between the horse medicine men and owners of medicine pipes whom the horse specialists customarily aided. These specialists also aided other Indians in the preparation of protective "horse bridles" worn under the heads of war horses on scalp raids.

Indirectly the influence of the horse affected other Blackfoot re- 231
ligious rituals. Horse payments were invariably made as inducements
to owners of ceremonial bundles to transfer their power to prospective 182
purchasers. At intervals throughout the tribal Sun Dance ceremony 796
participants were required to recite their coups, most commonly acquired through raiding for horses. In the two cases of self-torture during a Sun Dance that have been recorded in detail, the suppliants are known to have vowed to undergo the torture just before entering enemy camps to take horses.

Finally the horse was given a role of prominence in burial and 231
mourning rites. The favorite horses of a wealthy individual were 182
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765

9: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1955 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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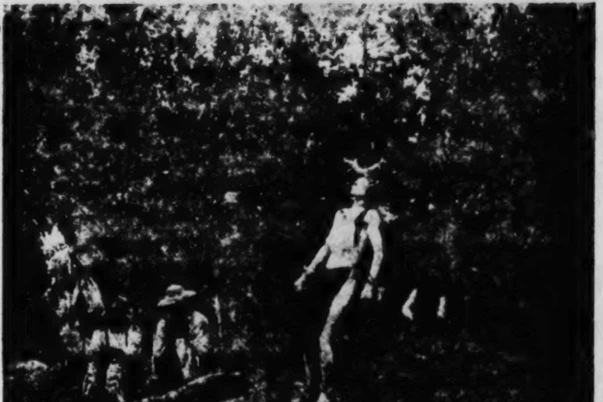

a, Makes-Cold-Weather, aged Piegan warrior, counting four horse-raiding coups before cutting the hide in the Sun Dance, 1944. (Courtesy Museum of the Plains Indian.) *b*, A Blood Indian horse raider expiating his vow to undergo self-torture in the Sun Dance lodge, 1892. (Photograph by R. N. Wilson. Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[p.358-P]

721 necessarily ruled out. Defensive battles were the occasion for a show of
555 bravery, for the capture of guns, shields and bonnets. The prestige derived
[178] from the counting of these coup and from the ceremonial recitation of war
deeds, though present, was in later years overshadowed by the prestige of
wealth.

554 The relative importance of war honors and wealth can be judged from the
556 fact that bravery and war deeds, the usual requirements for chieftainship
622 on the Plains, though important, were here not essential. There were many
chiefs who had never been on the warpath but who had achieved their
[555] position by their kindness, generosity, good judgement and wealth.[178]
Even a coward, "kopum", one who feared the warpath, could become a
chief, provided he had accumulated sufficient wealth to attract followers.
By giving frequent feasts, spreading gifts judiciously and buying into the
beaver and medicine-pipe societies, any man could gain considerable prestige.
This is made more striking when we compare the place of war honors
[191] and the counting of coups in Crow life with that among the Blackfoot.
The Crow had an elaborate and systematic grading of war honors which was
[556] absent among the Blackfoot.

We have indicated earlier that large war parties were used to keep the
726 Plateau tribes out of the Plains. Large parties were also occasioned by two
other situations. First, in attacks against the trading posts where the motive
was solely loot, and second, when the people felt the death of a prominent
warrior or chief at the hands of an enemy as a tribal loss. In such cases,
parties were organized in the spring or summer when the bands came to-
[628] gether for the Sun Dance. The revenge parties were composed of members
● [796] of a few bands, rarely of the whole tribe. It is significant that even on these
revenge parties, and this applies both to the large and the small, loot was
never overlooked.

726 There were, however, fundamental differences between the organization
and motives of the large parties of pre-horse days and those of later ones.
178 The latter were no more than expanded raiding parties. That is, the large
party of warriors broke up into small units which acted like the small
raiding party intent upon plunder instead of maintaining a unified army
under centralized control.

177 The existence of highly organized warfare among the Blackfoot in the
pre-horse period is of special interest in view of the fact that the coming of
178 the horse has become associated in a general way with the development of
231 a high degree of political organization. This process has been shown for the
southern Ute of Colorado where the advent of the horse consolidated the
[191] small family groups into large bands and transformed a peaceful, retiring

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[178] A favored son was not expected to go on the warpath but often became a chief.

homes far removed from the band lands. A member of the Lone-Fighters 621
said, "The bands are all mixed up now," and certainly it is true that a man [361]
would know to what band he belonged, but his information regarding others
was frequently unreliable. Yet, at the Sun Dance in the summer of 1939, [796]
the bands took their places in the camp circle in a recognized order: west to [823]
south, Fisheaters, Pacer-Fisheaters, Hairy-Shirts; south to east, Followers-of-the-Buffalo, Many-Children; east to north, Lone-Fighters; north, Many-Tumors; north to east, Black-Elks.

Even in the distant past the organization of the bands had been loose, 621
and there is little evidence that this recent geographical dislocation weakened 178
their cohesiveness to any substantial degree. It is even possible that the fixed dwellings made it more difficult to change from one to another. Band leadership, on the other hand, has been considerably modified both by political and economic change.

In the nomadic past, a leader's power depended upon strong support 622
from family and band. For this he paid in "generous-giving." "No Black- 556
foot," writes Wissler, "can aspire to be looked upon as a head man unless he 431
is able to entertain well, often invite others to his board, and make a practice
of relieving the wants of his less fortunate band members."[184] Today, a band 657
leader may be called upon to make decisions regarding leaseholds; he may 622
influence the distribution of government property (one informant cynically [661]
observed that all the thirty wagons assigned to the tribe in 1939 found their way into the hands of the chiefs' relatives); he may be called in to help settle disputes; and barring malfeasance, he can expect to hold office for life. But—and this is the crux of the matter—the Canadian Government distributes the rations; the Canadian Government gives credit on seeds, stock, wagons, and tools. The Canadian Government frequently subsidises
the building of houses and barns. The need to support native leadership is [178]
obviously reduced.

Moreover, the early emphasis on individualistic behavior has survived. [156]
For this reason, the implementation of a government program does not [178]
depend entirely on the assistance of a tribal intermediary, such as the com- [171]
munity leader of the Navaho,[185] the pueblo priests or their secular surrogates. Among the Blood, when chiefly authority fails to win cooperation, the Administration can still hope for success by appealing directly to interested members of the tribe.

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[184] *Ibid.*, p. 23. Cf. also Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 42) who points out that the authority of chiefs in the buffalo period increased when they had a monopoly of the fur trade and weakened when they were faced with intra-tribal competition.

[185] Solon T. Kimball and John H. Provinse, *Navajo Social Organization in Land Use Planning*, pp. 18–25.

Men's Societies

575 In the buffalo period, these age-graded organizations were the chief
182 agents of tribal discipline.[156] They maintained order in the camp and on the
[625] march; they policed the communal hunts; they destroyed the tipi of anyone
who pursued the game before the word was given; they publicly ravaged
[561] and, at times, killed the unfaithful wife or promiscuous sister of a fellow-
[689] member if he so requested. And probably as a corollary to these significant
[684] functions, the men's organizations, within their respective age-grades,
developed a solidarity that was in striking contrast to the general brittle-
[571] ness of Blood relationships.

572 One tie in Blood society is sacred—the tie between a man and his *taka*,
608 his special friend. The choice of a boon companion is made in childhood; it
is upheld throughout life. It is determined by age, by propinquity, and social
[178] position. In the past, *taka* shared the trials of hunt and war and a woman's
[836] favors before marriage. Today of necessity the last alone remains a test of
friendship, but *taka* still use each other's kinship terms: the mother of one
[601] becomes the mother of the other, the sister of one, the sister of the other,
and they assume the responsibilities implied in these and similar relation-
ships.

575 Within the men's societies, alternate grades know each other as "fight-
572 ers," but those who are members at the same time call each other *taka*.
561 The term bespeaks the mutual loyalty expected of them. As a group they
buy into a society; as a group they sell out. Wissler writes, "this companion-
ship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot
scheme."[157]

575 But while the members or *taka* preserve a solid front within their age-
182 grade, the societies themselves retain little of their former importance.
178 There are no more communal hunts; there are no more protected marches.
[561] Only at the Sun Dance, when the bands gather to raise the sun pole and
[796] make their transfers do the societies operate as of old. For the rest, they
function as social and ceremonial entities, interested primarily in feasting
and exchange.

575 In 1939, a sampling of 305 adult males (practically the entire adult male
[162] population) showed that, at some time, 205 had been members of the
Pigeons, 189 of the Brave Dogs, 68 of the Braves, 23 of the Black Seizers,
25 of the Crow Carriers, 4 of the Crazy Dogs, 130 of the Horns, 1 of the

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[156] For a full discussion of these societies, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, pp. 365–450; for age grades and police power, pp. 365–70; for general pattern, p. 424 ff.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 428.

joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a 575
gun, a saddle, and many blankets.[165] 424

Ordinary memberships in the Horn today bring no less. Many bring con- [432]
siderably more. The society's transfer ceremony was the most spectacular [796]
event at the Sun Dance.

Dance Societies[166]

A number of these associations still flourish on the reserve. Their mem- 575
bership problems are not formidable since their purpose is social and their 535
fees nominal, mostly contributions of food at the time of the dance.

The Women's Society[167]

The *Matoki*, as the Women's Society is called, raised their lodge at the 575
Sun Dance and, assisted by six men—four singers and two messengers—cli- [796]
maxed a four-day ceremony by imitating buffalo driven into the park. In
1939, fifteen women participated, all of them well beyond their prime. The [424]
leader's pole which, according to Mr. Duvall, cost "twelve horses and an
appropriate amount of other property" has not changed hands for forty [435]
years, although "like the horns and other societies the members sell, or [425]
transfer, to others usually . . . at the same time."[168]

The Sun Lodge

With the exception of three years, the Sun Lodge has been raised annually 796
since 1910, sixteen women vowing it, sometimes two of them jointly:[169]

1 woman vowed the Sun Lodge but did not put it up
10 women put up the Sun Lodge once (one year two jointly)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge twice
2 women put up the Sun Lodge three times (one, once with a woman who raised it five times)
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge four times
1 woman put up the Sun Lodge five times (four times since 1920 alone and once with one of the women who raised it three times)

The demand for chastity before marriage and fidelity after may have 836
eliminated a goodly number, but one informant felt sure that that was not 554

796

[165] Wissler, *Blackfoot Societies*, p. 426 ff. 837

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 451 ff.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 430 ff. [184]

[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 432.

[169] Harry D. Biele, Field Notes. For a full discussion of the Sun Dance and the building of the Sun Lodge, see Wissler, *The Sun Dance of the Blackfoot Indians*, pp. 220-270.

836 the only reason for the limited participation: "There are a lot of women on
554 this reserve who could put up a Sun Lodge, but don't want to." While their
● 796 virtue might be unassailable, she was convinced that they either could not
837 muster enough wealth, or did not care to meet the considerable demands
[778] for buying the *natoas* bundle,[170] putting up the lodge and staging a give-
[184] away.

182 The rewards of chastity unsupported by property are limited indeed. In
431 1939, the Sun Lodge vower only gave two horses away. The transferrer
796 asked by an interested bystander how he "had come out," laughed and
425 answered, "I never did as badly as this time." The crowd, well-aware that
there was to be no give-away, showed little interest in the proceedings.
[832] When the great moment arrived, the sun pole could barely be raised; most
[535] of the men preferred to dance the Owl Dance, that aid to flirtation and liai-
[575] son. But the conspicuous display at the transfer of Horn Society member-
ships two days earlier had drawn a large and expectant company.

Bundles[171]

575 The costs, limited memberships available, and unappealing demands of
424 such a society as the Crazy Dogs were clearly deterrents to participation,
184 but nevertheless an impressive proportion of the adult male population
bought into the cheaper (younger) organizations, and for special reasons
422 into the Horns. The ownership of medicine pipes and beaver bundles is
778 much more restricted. Only thirty, or less than one-tenth of the group
184 sampled, bought pipes at all:

25 bought 1 pipe
1 bought 2 pipes
2 bought 3 pipes
2 bought 4 pipes

Only six have bought beaver bundles:[172]

3 bought 1 bundle
3 bought 2 bundles

Of the first group, one had also purchased a medicine pipe; of the second, one had purchased four.

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[170] It is possible to vow the Sun Lodge without buying the *natoas* bundle. Cf. Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, pp. 241, 246.

[171] Many other types than those discussed here were in circulation. For full descriptions, see Wissler, *Blackfoot Bundles*, passim.

[172] Wissler (*Blackfoot Bundles*, p. 169), writes in 1912: "At present beaver bundles are to be found among the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time."

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

PLATE II

796

RAISING THE SUN POLE

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346

SUN LODGE

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342

CAMP CIRCLE

[p.44-B]

joke with your brother's, it means you are in earnest." The only Blood 593
confined to the insane asylum, whose case was not complicated by physical 578
causes, attempted to murder his wife because he believed she was having 152
intercourse with a ghost. Many a husband, approaching his end, threatens 831
his mate with death, for only when she accompanies him on his final journey [572]
can he be sure that in the next world he alone will possess her.

Husbands, who need proof of good behavior and who can afford to pay [158]
for it, may insist that their wives "vow the tongues"[180] or put up the Sun [775]
Lodge, for only those who are chaste before and faithful after marriage can 593
do so with impunity. Sometimes, however, the pressure may be so great, 796
that a woman must take a chance. Urged by her husband who remained unconvinced 783
concerning her virginity at marriage, Weasel Girl distributed the 626
tongues at the Sun Dance. Her husband's uncle, noting that she failed to 784
mention the names of any men she had rebuffed, suspected her avowal, and [837]
threw his piece of meat to a dog at his side. Later that evening, this dog
was shot while making off with a chicken. His alertness and caution had [836]
saved him, the uncle was certain, from a sure and untimely death. That
Weasel Girl, herself, only lived three years longer was further evidence that
she had lied.

Suspicion is not always without cause, as it may well have been in this 837
instance. The most casual encounter, the social dances in the dance hall,
even the Sun Dance, offer innumerable opportunities for illicit adventures,
and these are not missed. Many a husband has found his wife with her lover.
But so obsessed are they by their suspicions, that every possibility of [152]
adultery immediately becomes a fact.

Informal wife-lending among the Blood is inconceivable whether to a 432
casual friend[181] or a life-long "*taka*." Yet this act which cannot be tolerated 778
in daily living, is ritually sanctioned when the sorcery roots are purchased
by members in the Horn Society.[182] At this time, the wife of the buyer 786
deposits her clothes in her husband's lap. Protected by a buffalo robe, she 575
is taken to the tipi of the seller and ceremonially painted. She then "goes 754
837

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[180] Wissler, *Blackfoot Sun Dance*, p. 234 ff.

[181] Henry in his Journal (vol. 2, p. 526) states that the Blackfoot were a "nuisance in offering women." Wissler (*Social Life*, p. 10) observes that he believes these women were captives.

[182] Among the neighboring Cree the opposite situation existed. They practised informal wife exchange. D. G. Mandelbaum (*The Plains Cree*, p. 246) writes: "This relationship reflected considerable honor upon the participants, for only the most stout-hearted men could become intimate companions of their wives' paramours." But in a ceremony called Sitting Up Until Morning (*ibid.*, p. 228) although the "warriors of one society issued invitations to the wives or daughters of the members of other societies" and "at dawn, the men washed and painted the women's faces, 171 837

667 to learn to cook, tan hides, and make moccasins. There was no hazing of the
585 new wife; rather, if very young, she was treated like a child in the attempt
to make her feel at home in this new situation.

593 In addition social dicta prescribed that women be participators in the
562 cultural rewards apart from the warpath. This was mainly the case with
ceremonial life. It was always necessary for a man to have a woman partner
[778] when he obtained the medicine pipe or entered the sacred societies. In these
[575] activities it was usually a wife, though a man might seek another woman to
● 796 take her place. These women were not ceremonially so important as a male.
593 However, one case shows where a man refused to join the Crazy Dog society,
562 and to overcome his resistance, his comrades took his wife as a member. As
under this circumstance he could not refuse his wife and maintain community
[575] respect, he paid for her membership and sat beside her in all the
meetings. In the Sun Dance alone a woman overshadowed her husband, but
[577] this status assured her husband of a firm marital tie. As Sun Dance vower,
she personified the cultural ideal of womanhood, the woman who above all
was faithful to her husband.

562 Beyond this elevation of the status of women through the necessity for
842 women partners in receiving sacred objects and in participating in general
social life, there lay a mystical concept. Through women came the greatest
treasures the culture offered. This meant in the family that a man might
[603] have children, for children of both sexes were avidly desired. Older people
[597] raised their grandchildren in order to have children in the tipi. It was also
the practice to adopt a child should one's own child die. This pattern of cultural
562 rewards went even farther. In obtaining the most sacred root in the
796 Horn and ma'toki societies, the root which was the zenith of sacred objects
778 brought to the earth by the woman who brought the Sun Dance, a woman
[575] was necessary. In an esoteric ceremonial act a woman obtained for her husband
the root from a man who sold it. This was a very secret and unmentionable
[432] event that separated socially the seller from the buyer until the two
[571] "made friends" at some time when neither owned the root any longer. Thus
through marriage the two worlds of the male and the female were united to
581 obtain the rewards of the culture.
582

Balancing of the Lines

601 The question of lineality arises in any discussion of kinship terminology
602 in its relation to the family organization. We believe that there is only slight,
if any, emphasis on the paternal line.

601 Critical in fixing lineality is the relative weight of husband versus wife's
brother. In the foregoing paragraphs a relative balance of the two authorities
607 has been indicated. Ideally, it was a friendly, warm, though respectful
relationship, implying a type of cooperation like that between brothers,

177 184 tribe. These people are given an Indian name and a war bonnet, or other token of their new status, by an honored elder.

541 [648] [574] The encampment also provides the opportunity for other forms of social expression. People visit from tepee to tepee, drink coffee, eat and talk. By mid-afternoon a stick game or two gets under way near one of the concession booths behind the tent circle and usually continues until dawn. Other periods of time are spent doing the chores of camp living and in the pastimes appropriate to sex and age--the children play games, older people work on costumes, play blackjack, visit, loaf, or go into town.

In spite of this being a community enterprise, and the fairly large crowds that are attracted to it, the people in relatively continuous attendance are the Indian-oriented. The people who camp on the grounds and participate in the festivities are those identified as Indian-oriented. The onlookers can be sorted quickly into four categories: (a) Indian-oriented spectators from many parts of the reservation who spend much time on the grounds and can be seen in attendance day after day, (b) a number of people recognized as of white-orientation who make a brief appearance, spend an hour or two watching the procoedings and then leave, (c) a few white-oriented people, who because of special community roles and interests have reason to be in attendance more frequently, and (d) a changing tourist attendance of twenty-five to one hundred persons who spend varying amounts of time enjoying the spectacle.

Sun Dance

177 184 796 The last Sun Dance (1959) was held in conjunction with that year's Indian Days. The religious ceremonies were held on the

177 184 ● 796 encampment grounds preceding the secular festivities. The participants were largely people of Indian-orientation as were most of the spectators. Modern Indian-orientation does not require full knowledge and belief in the old religion as evidenced by the impatience of many younger people with the restriction on social dancing. The elders had trouble curbing the secular activities. Yet, from observation and reports, the families and friends of the participants took minor parts in the ceremony and watched the proceedings with mixed emotions of interest, understanding, tolerance and respect.

The key roles were filled by older men who knew the ritual; other participants were chosen from the families of these people and from among social and political leaders from both segments of the community. The men who had reported some knowledge and participation were in attendance, and of these, some were participating.

Indian Social Dances

177 184 535 [533] Social dancing at the Indian Days Celebration functioned as both entertainment for the tourists and recreation for the participants. The dancers did not await an audience but started dancing as soon as a singing group began to drum. The entertainment rarely followed the schedule, but started and stopped according to the mood of the individual dancers. Some would arrive on time, others an hour or two late. Evening dances were or were not held depending upon the weather and the inclination of the dancers, rather than upon the presence of an audience. In fact many dancers showed signs of impatience with the tourist onlookers who would often invade the dance circle to take pictures. Tourists appeared to be a tolerated nuisance rather than

Song Services, Bundle Openings and Curing Ceremonies

184 Song services were meetings of the singing groups and served
177 both as practice sessions and as forms of social gathering for the
533 people involved. The sessions were held in the home of one of the
singers, a relative, or a friend. A few kinsmen and friends might
attend and an evening was spent in singing and drumming old and new
songs. The session would break up at the discretion of the singers
and might be followed with a late-hour supper.

796 Bundle openings and curing ceremonies (according to informant
778 and newspaper reports) were religious rituals to which people were
184 invited. The reports indicate that those in attendance were always
177 people of Indian-orientation. Some were believers and others were
sympathetic but noncommitted members of the participants' families.
The activities on these occasions were determined by the ritual of
the particular bundle or cure, but involved singing, drumming,
[782] prayers and some dancing by selected participants. The owner of the
[302] bundle regularly painted the faces of those in attendance as a mark
of prayer for their well being. Bundle opening ceremonies are
followed by a feast. One such ceremony held recently at Starr School
was described by one the neighbors:

> The beaver dance given by Jim White Calf was held at the home
> of Jim and Amy Whitegrass despite the terrific storm and
> sudden cold. There were many people from Browning out to see
> this rare dance, that has long been forgotten. Among those
> attending were Mr. and Mrs. Fish Wolf Robe, Mr. and Mrs. Charlie
> Horn, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Many Guns and Mary Ground besides the
> [535] many people of our community. The dance began with the
> rythmic [sic] beating on hides to certain songs. The bundle
> [825] was opened by Jim White Calf and Maggie Many Hides. The bundle
> consists of many skins of useful animals and small birds that
> are of help to the owner. The beaver for "energy," the otter

> 184 for "speed," the ermine for "beauty," the swan for "grace"
> 177 and the little birds for their endurance of the cold in the
> ●796 winter. The people were then painted and eight danced in a
> 778 most graceful manner. Maggie Many Hides, Mary Ground,
> [825] Isabelle, Cecile Horn, Mrs. Fish, Annie Old Person,
> [535] Mrs. Tom Many Guns all danced like beavers with sticks in
> [264] their mouths and hands. The usual meal was served after a
> monstrous amount of energy was put into the dancing and
> singing. A delicious berry soup, boiled meat, fried bread
> and a dessert were consumed by everyone. At the end of the
> dance one certain lady gets up and dances with little small
> deer hooves and punches a man in the crowd and it goes on
> until everyone is dancing. It was a most enjoyable occasion
> for a grand time was had by all.[173]

[237] This "dance" was "long forgotten" by the reporter and others in the community, but not by the bundle-owner and the named participants, several of whom owned or had owned bundles themselves. Here was a gathering of Indian-oriented people conducting an Indian ceremony. Some undoubtedly experienced the deep religious experience of a beaver bundle opening, others had a "grand time" at a "most enjoyable occasion," a social gathering of people who shared interests in aspects of Indian culture.

Visiting

184 The social grouping of Indian-oriented people gains further
177 support from observations of informal clustering. At the Indian Days
574 encampment, and at the social dances in particular, it was relatively easy to watch for the Indian-oriented people and to notice with whom they spent their time in informal groupings--visiting, chatting, watching and relaxing. The range of Indian-oriented people was expanded by

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[173] "Starr School News," The Glacier Reporter, Browning, Montana, Vol. 31, No. 34, October 12, 1961, p. 6.

177 does long and steady labor. It is difficult for persons with this
184 attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented
183 structure.

[461] Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to
[186] the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm
● [796] full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was
[829] disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment.

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

177 Modern knowledge is also good. The Indian-oriented, in general,
184 display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is
871 difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in white schools. Among these, the gap between home and school environments, the language problem, the effects of failure and fear of failure, and the lack of clear cut personal objectives are undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school, but do not order them to do so.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from

177 Indian Days committee where they try to insure that the ceremonies
184 are properly Indian; they help in planning the program and in the
565 regulation of the camp; they don ceremonial regalia, usually a beaded
554 white deerskin suit and a Plains Indian headdress, to take part in the
[292] dancing and exhibitions that make up the program.

● [796] If a Sun Dance is held, it can be sponsored only by people of
this class, the principle roles will be filled by the Chiefs and their
families; they know the songs, dances and the ritual necessary for the
performance of a ceremony that follows tradition as closely as their
knowledge and modern conditions will allow.

Such Chiefs are called upon to greet distinguished visitors and to officiate in adoption ceremonies in which visiting dignitaries are given an Indian name and taken into the Blackfeet tribe. If any family wishes to hold a give-away, a Chief is called upon to be the crier, the one who announces the import of the ceremony, leads in chanting the proper songs, and calls out the names of those honored with a gift.

[778] Several of these men own medicine bundles that they open on
the proper occasions, and they help conduct the ceremonies at the bundle
[755] openings of other people. A few know curing practices and rituals and
conduct curing ceremonies even though they and their patients also
go to white doctors.

[643] Some of the Chiefs serve on the Honorary Tribal Council and
[664] receive a small per diem for attendance at Council meetings. Members
of this Honorary Council are chosen frequently to accompany delegations
to the state and national capitols to lobby for or against proposed

177 taught some of the traditions in their homes. But they are not
184 committed, openly at least, to the old religion. They are members, and
565
554 often leaders, of Christian churches. Those who are Catholics look for
elements in Catholicism that support Indian values and they are adept at
177
184 finding Christian analogs for Blackfeet beliefs. Others have joined
565 minor Protestant churches and stress that the predominant Indian
554 attendance at these makes them Indian churches. There is some evidence
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795 that many Indian-oriented persons are changing church affiliation
frequently and that this is caused possibly by a search for a white
church that is most congruent with the Blackfeet religion.[196]

177 The Interpreters participate in Indian ceremonies and are
184 given parts to play in the Sun Dance. They do not have the traditional
565 wisdom required for the roles, but they are Indian leaders who are
554
[796] sympathetic and "good." They tend to express Indian values, and sub-
scribe to Indian symbols. Interpreters put up a tepee for Indian Days,
[186] wear a Chiefly costume on appropriate occasions, stress their Indian
names and belong to a men's society.

In addition to their Indian training, these men have had the opportunity to get a good education in American schools, to travel and otherwise become experienced with much of white culture. They are capable of competing with the white-oriented, and through ability, hard work and some economic success, are well accepted by the white-oriented community. They could succeed on their own in any rural off-reservation community. The Interpreters are not wealthy. They usually earn good

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[794] [196] The Blackfeet have not accepted the peyote cults even though these are active in reservations in the surrounding region.

B river for many miles at intervals of a few miles or less. Many of
G the descriptions of the locations of these tribes refer to their
221 positions at this relatively inactive winter season. Generally the
361 Indians spent between five and six months in their winter camps, from
late October or early November to late March or early April.

B When the winter camps broke up in spring the bands went their
G separate ways hunting buffalo, and collecting wild roots which offered
[262] variety to their limited winter diet of meat and dried vegetables.
B In June, when buffalo bulls were prime, the scattered hunting bands
G gathered to form the great tribal encampment. When they were all
[224] arrived, which might require several weeks, the tribal summer hunt
[619] was inaugurated under the leadership of the head chief of the tribe
B and strictly regulated by members of the military societies. In
G August occurred the great tribal religious festival of the sun dance,
[796] when the tribe remained in one locality for a period of 8 to 10 days
[619] or more.

B At the conclusion of the sun dance the hunting bands again
G separated for the fall hunt, to kill buffalo, pick berries and to
[251] prepare dried meat, pemmican and dried fruits for their winter food
B reserve. The number of moves and the extent of travel by each band
G during this fall season were dependent upon the availability of buffalo.
221 If a band found game in abundance they needed to make few moves during

657 time. Fortunately, buffalo were reported in the east, and if the
Indians could be lured to search for them, time might be gained.
Overnight the programme that was to have taken a decade to
develop had to be assembled. The Indians were dispatched eastward
to permit the making of arrangements.

224 With a supply of rations and equipment purchased by their
treaty money, the Blackfoot set out for the last time in search of
buffalo. They knew it would be a long trip, too hard for many; so
the old and halt were left behind to the charity of the police. South
and east they went, into the United States; buffalo were sighted.
On they pushed, farther south than ever before, camping even along
[721] the banks of the Yellowstone. They were attacked by enemy tribes,
but there was no alternative. Besides, outside the confines of the
treaty, the young men could retaliate. For a brief moment the old
657 life continued. The last *coups* were counted. Nor did they return
north during the next summer for treaty payment; life was too rich
796 to make it necessary. The Sun Dance was held in the south; they
439 ran races, bet high, played games and ate, when without buffalo, by
trading horses with the whites for food.

167 In the spring of 1881 even these last buffalo faded away. With
few horses and hides for trading, the Blackfoot were again desperate. The chiefs deliberated but found no alternative except returning to the reserve. Some could still trade horses, but with the spectre of famine in mind most turned north. So as the last horses with tipi cover and back rests piled high on the travois moved down the bluffs from the rolling prairie to the thicketed flats of the Bow River, the last move of the Blackfoot bands had ended. Henceforth these were the lands where they would have to face the future with planted feet.

THE GARDEN DAYS

657 The territory which had been designated the Northern Blackfoot
reserve was well known to the Blackfoot. It was situated in the heart
131 of the country they had hunted for generations, and even contained
the site of the signing of their own treaty. The reserve is still located
on this spot in southern Alberta, about fifty miles east of Calgary
on the high plains. Travelling on the Canadian Pacific Railway
between Calgary and Medicine Hat, one skirts a portion of the
657 reserve. The agent's report of 1903 furnishes an excellent description
133 of its topography:

000 defying the police to bring him to justice. Other forms of defiance
177 that showed courage according to Indian ideas were shooting cattle, stealing whiskey, and disobeying white injunctions to remain on the reserve.

648 Even more disconcerting for the whites than these minor forays was the second Riel uprising of 1885. The white population was outnumbered, especially if all the Indians of the Northwest were to unite. It did not know the country so well, and had less to lose by defeat. Panic seized the whites and volunteer brigades were organized in all towns for defence. When the Cree chief Poundmaker sent an emissary to Crowfoot asking for help, white officials held their breath. Rations were increased, and extra merchandise was distributed to pacify the Blackfoot. Father Lacombe was sent to exert his influence on Crowfoot. To the great relief of all concerned Crowfoot refused to co-operate with the Crees, saying, "This is your war. We have made peace with the whites." Wishing to benefit by Blackfoot loyalty, a few whites suggested inducing the Blackfoot to rekindle their latent hostility toward the Crees and join forces with the government. Though it would not have been difficult to enlist the services of many, the conservative white leaders, fearing that the Blackfoot might not stop fighting after having put down the insurgents, refused permission.

For the most part the rebellion passed the reserve quietly.
563 Parents used it as a pretext to withdraw their children from the newly-founded missionary school, and some chiefs showed their sympathetic generosity by caring for a little group of Cree women and children which had escaped from the battle zone in the north. Rested and comforted, many of the refugees went on to the United States, but some remained with the Blackfoot. A few with their descendants, even though always specified as Crees, live on the
648 reserve today, and have married Blackfoot. Crowfoot's trip in 1887 to Ottawa on the new railway was ordered by the government largely in appreciation of Blackfoot loyalty to the government during the Riel uprising. The well-phrased words that Father Lacombe translated to the velvet-coated officials convinced all that Her Majesty's munificence had not been wasted on an unappreciative savage.

517 Those who did not try the warpath as a means for showing their worth turned to a new kind of competition. With food issued weekly, and the old activities of hunting unnecessary or impossible, the
535 Indians found themselves with time on their hands. In former days
796 these were the occasions for dancing and celebration. Consequently,
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a veritable epidemic of society dances and ceremonials sprang up,
attended by all who could pay the price. Those who knew the songs 535
and rituals suddenly stepped into the limelight, even though they 796
may have had but few war deeds to their credit. Here was a new 555
opportunity to be known, to stand out before all others and to espouse the Indian way of life. Men resolved to join every society and to own every medicine bundle. Then in a smoking ceremony where each could display his ritual accomplishments, even the young who had never seen an enemy camp could compete on equal grounds with the taunts of the old. In terms of property and sacred regalia they might even make these old warriors shy before them.

As a result medicine bundles and society regalia were furiously 575
bought and sold. Each new buyer, showing his generosity by paying
more than the previous owner, ridiculed his society enemies for 778
stinginess. Prices for membership in the Horn society soared from [432]
a gun and blanket before treaty to a horse, and from one horse to [435]
several horses. These prices reflect the favourable conditions for
horse-breeding. In five years the number of horses on the reserve 231
doubled, from 540 in 1885 to 1,085 in 1890, according to the agency
estimates. In the years around 1900 there were nearly 3,000 horses, [435]
and it was not unknown to pay sixty horses for a Medicine Pipe.

Officialdom looked askance upon these activities, for this care-
free circus took time away from gardening and prolonged unneces- 657
sarily the process of making the Blackfoot self-sufficient. At first 177
the great problems for the agents were in keeping the Indians on
the reserve, preventing horse-stealing, and attempting to interest
them in the care of their houses and gardens. Then the Sun Dance 796
with its misunderstood torture ceremony became an irritation. Some
whites conceived the chief object of the Sun Dance to be the fur- 785
nishing of a sadistic spectacle to the Indians, who were imagined 177
to smack their lips in delight as the young men tore the skewers
from their flesh.[1] As soon as this phase of the ceremony could be 657
abolished, the Sun Dance would disappear, they believed, for the

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[1] The Sun Dance was an annual ceremony intended to ensure the people against disaster. The central rites, led by a woman, lasted only four days, but many other events also occurred during this season. Since this was the one time of the year when the entire tribe camped together, it was an occasion for joyful renewing of acquaintance, exchanging property, and feasting bosom companions. Among such varied activities, the torture ceremony was a relatively minor event participated in by a few. These were mainly warriors on a raid who, in peril of their lives, had sought the aid of the sun, vowing that, if they returned safely, they would give flesh in return. If they escaped successfully, these men were obliged to fulfil their side of the contract. In the ceremony skewers were driven through the muscles of the chest and back to be torn loose by the participant in a dance.

796 incentive to participation would be absent. Accordingly, Crowfoot
785 was urged to help to abolish the torture ceremony, though death spared him the embarrassment. In 1890 Indian Agent Magnus Begg
177 took matters into his own hands. He rode up to the Sun Dance lodge
657 at the height of the activities, and, fortified by the sanctions of the Church of England in the person of the Reverend J. Tims, asked the chiefs to stop this part of the ceremony. To the amazement of these two men, the request was complied with immediately.

797 Capitalizing on the Blackfoot's deep-lying interest in the supernatural, the clergy was constantly proselytizing. Unlike their Protestant brethren, the Roman Catholics did not stress the dichotomy of Christianity and Indian beliefs. Rather they permitted these ignorant children of God to follow their own ways, subtly fostering at the same time a greater dependence on the Church and sending their souls onward, purified by the baptismal rites. The unbending Protestant, however, insisted that a man could not worship fetishes and the omnipotent Christian God at the same time; moreover, the Indians were also expected to part with their extra wives before entering the church. Such abnegation required greater conviction than most Indians had. Few Indians could face the tribal rejection that occurred when a wife was sent away for this reason and sacred bundles destroyed. Converts were for the most part unsteadfast, for as soon as crops failed and horses died, thereby proving the impotence of the white religion, they returned to their old forms of supernatural protection.

797 The great tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the Indians arose over schools rather than doctrinal affairs. In 1884, seven
871 years after treaty, Father Lacombe had completed the construction of St. Joseph Industrial School at High River near Calgary, and was searching the camps for children untouched by Indian "prejudice," whose minds would be receptive to Christianity. A few parents were induced to part with their children, but a few days later, lonely in their tipis, yearning for the departed child, and preyed upon by gossip about heartless whippings, many an anxious parent went to the school to reclaim his child. The first years tried Father Lacombe's patience severely. Not only were his lambs seized from the fold, but they were a wild lot at best. They gulped the proffered food, refused to go to bed at night, "laughed and sang, and with the Indians' power of ridicule made light of the odd furniture."[1] Father Lacombe,

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[1] Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

high, for in 1900 less than 40 per cent of the 129 children of school 871
age attended school. Boarding-school attendance was better, for the
parents who consented to giving up their children knew at least that
they were fed. This institution gradually replaced the day-school,
for the children could be isolated there from the "heathenish" influence
of their parents. The whole situation was incomprehensible to 657
the Indians, especially when Markle, acting on his conviction that
the only way to make an Indian self-supporting was to make him 829
work, withdrew rations and inaugurated the work-or-starve policy.
They were almost dazed by the blow. The agent claimed to look
after the welfare of the Indians, therefore he was the chief. But a
good chief would bankrupt himself for the welfare of his followers.
Yet this agent-chief had a comfortable house while the Indians lived
in shacks. He had money, while their pockets were empty. He had
a horse and democrat while the Indians travelled with a travois in
his dust. Certainly every Indian Agent had failed to assume the
chiefly role of generosity and personal responsibility.

There were three responses to this incomprehensible behaviour.
The first was apathy, and as some described it, "Some people just
died, like of a broken heart." Others sought crooked or degrading [685]
ways of obtaining needed articles, like stealing, or begging; while [135]
many Indians sought to remain apart from the whites. Free cattle
were often refused, not because their economic value was questioned 657
but because accepting them implied an obligation to the
agent. Every Blackfoot knows that a gift is given with great display 231
of generosity, but it always carries with it an expectation of future 431
return. Big Snake, a hard-working man, would have nothing to do
with cattle because of being obligated. Eagle Ribs, too, spurned the
beasts because the brand of the Indian Department showed that
they were not his own cattle and implied reciprocity. Three Suns
refused agency-given cattle, bought his own instead, and lived as
remote from the white influence as possible.

Through these years of cattle-raising life went on with many 177
irritations. Some who accepted white direction prospered; most eked
out a living driven by necessity rather than respect for the white
man's ways. Times were hard (though perhaps no harder than in
buffalo days) yet they retained few of the former rewards. One 796
informant said that the only happy times were at the Tobacco Dance
and at the Sun Dance, where spiritual exaltation and conviviality
supplanted briefly the drudgery of earning a living.

796 Here they could gather apart from white people as in old times
177 and sing the songs that everyone knew. Old men looked forward to
rejoining their departed friends in the Sand Hills; there at least
Indian life continued. All the grandeur for the Blackfoot lay in the
177 past. Their leaders had been hoodwinked into signing the treaty,
and now with whites more numerous than themselves, it was too
late to return to the buffalo days. The catatonic stupor of reserve
Indians was fast settling on a once respected group. It was fortunate
that hope could be rekindled by the events that transpired in 1910.
The sale of the land across the river may have been sufficient to
forestall the apathy that was beginning to appear.

Although production is carefully tended by the agent and the 657
white staff, other aspects of the economy are not so closely under 433
thumb. Exchange is controlled in the conversion of wheat and cattle
into cash, but there is some merchandise passing in and out of the [437]
reserve as barter with neighbouring Indians and white settlers which
escapes agency supervision. Moreover, through management of the [434]
Indians' cash accounts the agency partly determines the amount of
cash that an Indian may have; yet the manner of spending lies to a great extent beyond the agent's control. Thus only in part is this an agency-controlled system. In general we shall see a white system of production welded onto a system of distribution in itself a modification of the original indigenous system.

The Annual Round

In buffalo days, the first thunder of spring was joyfully anti- 221
cipated by all as the time when the owners of Medicine Pipes opened 796
the sacred bundles, sang the songs of the thunder bird, and dis-
tributed tobacco to all the camp. These ceremonies continue today,
but only the older people look forward to them with eagerness. The 221
younger ones are eager for a different reason. In April now annuities 434
from the Blackfoot trust fund are paid. The children are released
from school for the day. The Indians who have waited for months
flock to towns nearby to buy clothing, groceries, and household
articles. Quite a number, seeking variety and better bargains, board [484]
the train to Calgary where in small groups they stroll through the
stores of the business district or rest on the wooden benches of Chinese restaurants.

A few days later all are back on the reserve, and the spring enter- 221
prises begin. Every Indian team of horses and every tractor from
the farm instructors' sheds is busy with ploughing and seeding. The [241]
frame houses near the cultivated fields bulge with relatives who [602]
have come to help. Calves are driven from their winter corrals to [233]
join the main herd started on its way to summer pasture lands.

Meanwhile the old people have convened to a secluded site for 221
the Tobacco Dance, and are singing the opening songs of the Beaver
Bundles. On a gala day about a week later Indians from all over the 796
reserve come to watch gleefully, while, for instance, the man with buffalo-hoof rattle dances clownishly around the circle. A few listen

221 all night to the songs of the sacred tobacco, which is planted in the first light of dawn.

[796] With fertility ensured for the coming year by these ancient ceremonies, all return to work. The old want money to buy a gift blanket for the Sun Dance late in June. The young are more interested in a projected trip to the Calgary Stampede in July. Consequently, the agency staff, the stock-men, and the farm instructors are besieged with offers to paint houses, mend the roads, and repair culverts. Certainly, weeds must be ploughed under by the farmers for their summer fallow. The winter calves must be branded, the males castrated, the dry cows segregated, and the entire herd placed on display for cattle buyers.

In June, as the men finish these tasks, painted tipis are inspected, 796 and strange wagons roll up dust clouds along the roads. Bloods from Cardston, Piegans from Brockett, and Crees from Hobbema arrive to watch the Blackfoot Sun Dance. On a quiet flat by the river the traditional circle camp is formed; the preliminary society 796 dances begin. The old people are the chief participants, for the young, desirous of having money to spend and attentive to their 177 crops, are still too busy at their jobs. Besides, young persons feel quite ill at ease in these ceremonies. They do not know the procedure, so fear to make spectacles of themselves with some crude blunder. With school teachings still fairly fresh in their minds, they are confused by the conflicting pronouncements from the mission schools and the awesome Blackfoot elders. Consequently, they prefer to watch outside the Sun Dance Lodge while their fathers dance within. On the last day of the camp the children, released for the summer from the boarding-schools, spend a restless night in the strangeness of a tipi or tent.

434 On that last day five dollars is paid out to each person by the Canadian government, in accordance with the terms of the Blackfoot 484 Treaty. Forthwith, most of the Indians disappear from the reserve. By train, automobile, and wagon a large, gay group takes the high- 541 way westward to the Stampede grounds at Calgary. For one hot week, as their older brothers ride bucking horses, the schoolboys, cheeks sticky with sweets, wander the Midway wide-eyed at the spectacle of Al Capone's armoured car or the living woman without a head. Their parents, with the girls and little ones close at hand, visit friends from other reservations, show off their handwork to

tourists, and occasionally carouse. The more conservative Indians 484
eschew the Stampede. Forming a caravan of wagons "like old times,"
they proceed slowly to the Blood reserve. They pitch their tents on [541]
the gentle slope before Belly Butte to witness and rejoice in the Sun [796]
Dance of the Blood Indians.

By the end of July most have returned to the reserve. Food 221
boxes empty and money gone, they must again turn to earning a
living. Clusters of tents where a man and his brothers have joined [314]
to mow the prairie grass and haul it to the stock farm for feeding
the calves in the coming winter are pitched for two or three weeks
across the highlands of the reserve. It is hard but not unpleasant
work. Saturday is pay-day. Immediately a hand game starts in one 517
of the tents; night and day the whole week-end the drum-throb [524]
resounds with brief intermission across the range. On Sundays a
big crowd from all over the reserve convenes for horse-races on a [541]
great plain where the men bet down to their last quarter on the [525]
bay or sorrel.

In the meantime others are busy stacking the bundles of rye and 221
oats behind the mowers, happy in their luck to have the crop cut
before it was destroyed by a sudden hail-storm. By September, [241]
when the children have returned to the schools, the wheat is ready
to harvest. Farmers eagerly await the threshing machine, so their
crops may be finished early. Others are charged with moving the [233]
main herd of cattle to the winter feeding ground, while a lowing mass
of calves is prodded into the corrals for wintering.

With farm work done, a tide of workers flows to the coal-mines. 221
Some bring their families and move for the whole winter into the
village of shacks that lies on the flat before the mine shaft. Others 316
leave their families behind and don the miner's cap for a few weeks 464
only. In full production scores of loads weigh in each week and are
driven off to town. After work on Saturdays some people go to the 517
movies in town, though many remain, crowding thirty or forty
strong into one of the houses for a Deer Dance or a hand game.

By the time the first flurries of snow blow in from the west, the 221
old people are settled in one of the clusters of log houses along the
river. There, with rations, occasional money from the slaughter of
a beef, and near to wood and water, they pass the winter with congenial
friends who listen again to stories of a war party to the Crows.
Certain younger man, hankering after a pool game in town, a bottle

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

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TABLE I

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL ROUND

	Work done	*Events*	*Payments*
Jan.	Stock care Mining Cash jobs	New Year Dance (Half Braves)	Beef money
Feb.	Trapping		
Mar.			
Apr.		Medicine Pipe bundles opened (old people)	Annuities (old, $50; young, $25)
May	Ploughing, sowing; Herd to summer pasture	Tobacco Dance	
June	Round-up Weeding, cultivating Repair	Sun Dance Old Women's Society Horns	Treaty money, $5
July	Haying	School vacation Calgary Stampede Blood Sun Dance (old people)	
Aug.	Rye, oats harvest	School re-opens	
Sept.	Wheat harvest; Threshing crew Mining		
Oct.	Herd to winter pasture Calves corralled		Crop money
Nov.	Winter care of stock		
Dec.		Christmas Dance (Horns)	

Any time:
Deer Dance } Vows
Ghost Dance } Vows
Beaver Bundle year-count
Painted tipi sing
Smoke ceremony
Crazy Dog Dance (usually winter)
Prairie Chicken Dance (usually winter)
Other minor ceremonies.

Blackfoot declare that a generally "favourable trade balance" exists 574
in terms of generosity: more exports occur than imports. Some
Indians commented on this with pride, extolling Blackfoot generosity. 431
Others have been less impressed, saying that the Blackfoot
should not be the ones who are always giving.

Religious ceremonies may be viewed as an aspect of distribution. 796
Although the object of Blackfoot religion can be conceived as a
deflector of, or insurance against, certain malignant cosmic forces, the [771]
manner of achieving this constitutes a system of exchange and distribution.
To overcome illness, for example, one vows to purchase 796
a certain medicine bundle, shield, or painted tipi from another.
Ceremonial transfer usually involves many persons singing the 425
songs and performing the proper ritual under the direction of a [755]
master of ceremonies who receives a fee for his services. At the
conclusion food is given to the guests. The cost of the transfer and
the price of the medicine bundle are borne by the recipient. Membership 575
in sacred societies or acquiring a weasel-skin suit operates 425
the same way. The regalia purchased is regarded as a medicine
bundle and gives a guarantee against catastrophe.

A sacred object provides almost continuous opportunities for 778
generosity not only for the owner himself but for all members of his
family. Most sacred objects have annual ceremonies wherein its 796
songs are sung as the bundle is opened and displayed. Here, too, a
paid master of ceremonies is required to lead the songs. During such [465]
a ceremonial considerable quantities of food are given away to all [431]
present. Relatives may help by giving away a blanket, money, or
a horse to a guest in honour of the owner.

The most prosperous Indian, hence (in their terms) those on 422
best terms with cosmic forces, have bought and sold many sacred
objects. This matter of having owned sacred objects then becomes 778
a symbol of generosity. When one has owned a large number of [556]
them, say fifteen, an opportunity arises to exhibit generosity. Such
a person may hold a smoking ceremony at which time he can demonstrate [796]
his past generosity by singing the songs of each sacred
object. Those with fewer sacred objects to their credit will be
unable to sing comparably, thus exposing their lack of generosity.

Many of these distributive mechanisms are used relatively little. 425
It is a rare year when a major sacred object or membership in a 778
sacred society changes hands. No Medicine Pipe was acquired
575

425 except through death in the decade of the thirties; the Horn society
778 changed hands in 1932 and was still owned by the same members
in 1941; the present Old Women's society recently acquired three
575 new members. One of the Indians whose income we studied purchased
a relatively minor sacred object. The only objects that
change hands regularly are the Sun Dance bundles which change
796 hands almost every year. Ceremonies for these sacred objects and
for the sacred societies, however, are more frequent. The Tobacco
796 Dances and the Sun Dance occur annually and serve as important
distributing agents. This is particularly the case with the Sun Dance,
431 which today is paid for not only by the buyer of the Sun Dance
bundle but by contributions from the chiefs and other prominent
members of the tribe. To save it, the Sun Dance has been changed
from a purely private vow to a semi-public obligation. The sacred
societies, i.e., the Old Women's society and the Horns, also hold
annual dances when the Indians are gathered for the Sun Dance.
A few continue to hold ceremonies for their painted tipis, and in
spring at the first thunder the Medicine Pipe owners stage annual
demonstrations of their generosity. In winter and through the year
the periodic vows of the Deer Dance or of the Ghost Dance, and
Beaver Bundle activities require fees for the directing functionary
and food for the guests. Four out of seven whose incomes were
investigated contributed to these ceremonies, either by donating
$2 to $5 for buying food or by giving money and blankets in honour
of the owner of the sacred object or a member of the sacred society.
Thus certain aspects of Blackfoot religion seem to be continuing as
distributive systems.

575 In one sense the age societies may be said to have died out.
The frequent lively dances and regular sale to a younger group are
178 gone. According to Wissler, in 1905 there were at least seven active
societies among the Northern Blackfoot.[1] Today there are nominally
four. One of the societies has not even held a dance for more
[425] than a decade. When these societies were active, they changed hands
every four years; a participant bought his dance regalia, held it four
years, and then sold it to one of a group of younger men. Today
this system appears to have died out as young men no longer care

---

[1] C. Wissler, "Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, 1913, vol. 11, p. 369.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

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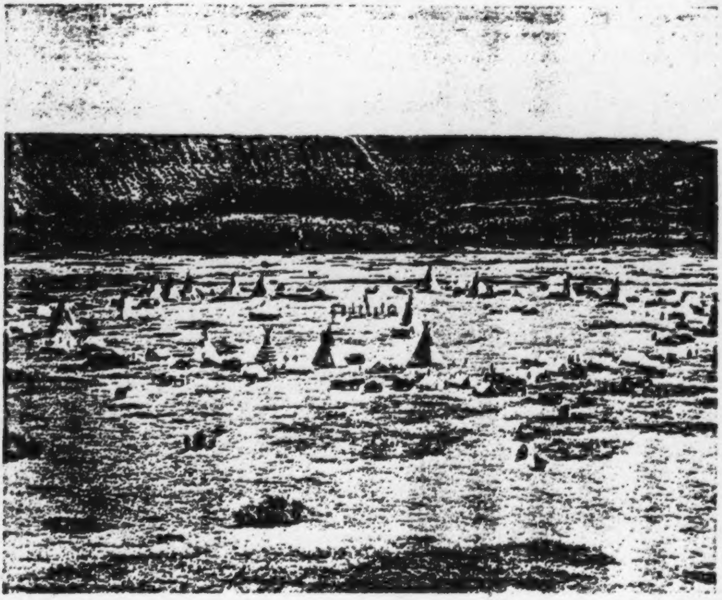

F. Gully, Calgary

THE SUN DANCE CAMP OF 1943

[p.112-B]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

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F. Gully, Calgary

AN OUT-DOOR CEREMONY IN THE TOBACCO DANCE

[p. 112-F]

657 Because so few Blackfoot speak and write English adequately, this
[191] letter is similar to many received by the agent. This impression of
immaturity is furthered by the constant appeal for funds from a
given account in the agency, and the common practice of working
only when in need of cash.

643 Consider also meetings of the councils of chiefs. The chiefs enter
the room feet clad in moccasins, wearing somewhat shabby suits
657 or brightly coloured cowboy shirts, their heads often covered with
[291] red bandanas on top of which sit broad-brimmed, dusty hats. Some
sit on chairs, others find greater comfort sitting tailor fashion on
[516] the floor. Most chiefs must communicate through an interpreter,
[191] and those who speak English often use broken English with phrasing
comical to the white ear. In view of the white tendency to consider
seriously only words addressed by persons who dress correctly, speak
in proper ways, and know approved decorum, the agency cannot
consider the chiefs equal partners in the direction of reserve affairs.

657 Like other agencies, the Blackfoot agency's policies are determined in part by the expectations of the Indian Affairs Branch at
Ottawa. A good reserve is one where production is aimed at maintaining or achieving a level considered adequate for the people.
There should be a low index of crime, divorce, disease and, if possible, few complaints by Indians or their white neighbours. To the
extent possible there should be a decreasing rate of expenditure out
of public funds and an increasing rate of school attendance. In these
[433] respects the Blackfoot agency stands well. Through competent
agency management production has been maintained fairly well in
certain respects and increased in others. We have no indices to
compare crime, divorce, and complaint rates from this agency with
other agencies, but judging by the tendency for Indians to remain
on the reserve, complaints at least should be low from the Blackfoot
● [796] area. It is probable that the mild encouragement given to Blackfoot
religious ceremonials is considered a step towards maintaining native
[743] moral sanctions. Certainly the Blackfoot hospital offers a health
service that surpasses that of many communities in the vicinity.
[652] Thanks to the trust fund, public money expended for the reserve
[871] has reached a minimum, and nearly every child goes to school.

With respect to the Indians three administrative principles
[434] appear to be operative. First is the principle of preventing the
Indians from having too great benefits from the trust fund at any
one time, lest they become demoralized. On this ground many

563 government charity for over forty years, surviving as best they could. Admission was granted to these families and subsequently to a few others of the same band.

Today these Indians constitute a special group which lives somewhat apart and is identified as "Cree" by the Blackfoot. They are distinct from the Cree wives of Blackfoot and the descendants of adopted Crees whose past affiliation with Crees, though recognized, does not constitute a basis for special social status. The new-comers receive all the benefits of the Blackfoot trust fund. They have constructed their own coal-mine and continue their own ceremonials. 563 Indeed, they use for their own purposes the Sun Dance lodge that has been erected by the Blackfoot for Blackfoot rituals. In 1939, 796 with no Sun Dance vower from the majority group, the Crees offered to save the day by holding the ceremonies according to their tradition. Some Blackfoot participated with interest, most were grateful and somewhat satisfied at having a "sort of a Sun Dance," but many were arrogantly critical of these proceedings. The Crees, on the defensive, resolved to impress these spectators with the ceremonial rigours and the strength of their power. One night, after the chief vower had fasted for more than forty-eight hours, in the presence of a few curious spectators the aged vower was said to have made the moon dance to the beat of his drum. Respect for the Crees rose perceptibly, and though this group is treated by local reserve residents as inferior, it is now probable that as its economic position improves, differences will disappear.

Social Structure and Kinship

594 592 [829] The band having disappeared, there remains as the present nucleus for living the individual family of husband, wife, and children. However, it is unusual for a family to remain long so small as this, for people consider themselves lonely and isolated under these circumstances. Only the recluses or very poor live alone with 596 their wives and children. As we have noted, a young man and his wife will come to live with an older brother or one of the husband's brothers-in-law. In this household the two men help each other with the work in the fields, while their wives collaborate on baby [178] [593] [607] care and household chores. Such a system is a direct continuation of the time-honoured kinship obligations between brothers, and between a man and his sister's husband or his wife's brother.

personal effects for himself or his household. He willingly assumes 177
the burden of care for the aged, as this gives him further prestige
through generosity. Only when age curtails his activity can he look 434
for someone to take his place.

From abnegation of the past one becomes a devotee. Old men 177
are paid by the middle-aged to retell stories of war and camp life in
the buffalo days. The feats of one's father and grandfathers are
venerated so that in comparison the new generation seems inferior.
A strong urge comes to revive and relive these times. This is the [796]
present position of much ceremonial life, and people participate
eagerly. It is a sign of accomplishment to have owned many sacred [555]
bundles and joined many societies. Opportunities are sought out to
wear buckskin clothing and display one's knowledge of the past.
Considerable rivalry exists among authorities to tell the true version
of a well-known tale. Of course, the lingering survivors of buffalo 177
days have the upper hand, and to be a person who can still recite
coups guarantees great respect. Substitute *coups* for those born too 555
late have been adopted, as when a visitor on the Crow reserve seized
a knife or a sugar bowl from his host or when a gun was stolen from
the unoccupied cabin of a white man. These substitutes, however,
remain officially unsanctioned, and old men frequently come from
great distances to tell authentic *coups* requisite for proper validation of a ceremonial step.

In the face of these changes one may ask whether white ways 177
lure people away from the approved Indian pattern. Because of the
solidarity with the past and with people of one's own kind, total
conversion is rare. Some who have given up the hospital for a medicine man later return to the hospital. Former members of sacred
societies may attend church services. In this sense conversion occurs,
but this is only partial and indeed thoroughly permissible conduct
for a devotee of Indian ways. We have observed only two immutable 177
requisites for acceptable Indian conduct. First, the obligations of a
social role within the extended family must be observed. Though 596
one septegenarian convert to the Anglican church attended no ceremonials, he was respected for fulfilling his obligations as the eldest
in an extended family. Another was a member of a sacred society
but was thoroughly despised because of his failure to be generous
towards his relatives and to work diligently to fulfill his obligations.
Second, there should be no active sabotage of Indian ways. Another 177
elderly convert to the Anglican church fulfilled his social obligations 797

Horn Society is the greatest of any society, its strength is regarded as comparable to that of the Christian churches. Furthermore, its power has been increased by combining into it the regalia of the former Kit-Fox Society, a defunct society with great supernatural power. Thus when Christian power has failed, one appeals at once to the strongest of Indian powers. This change occurred during World War I when after a lapse of about thirty years the Horn Society was revived by a group of comrades because of their interest in Indian ways. At that time it still had age-grade character. After the influenza epidemic of 1918 it was bought out by persons of various ages who had vowed to join in order to ensure recovery. Since then persons of many ages have formed groups to join the society, though the majority is middle-aged. Because it is vowed only in time of severe crisis, the period of holding membership is now about ten years instead of the former four.

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The Sun Dance itself has also been forced into conformity with reserve life. The circle camp no longer makes the four changes in location before building the lodge. Without the participation of young people, the circle is a thin line of tipis and tents with numerous gaping holes where an extinct band formerly camped. Because of farm work and the Calgary Stampede, it lasts only about a week instead of several weeks. On the climactic day of general participation to erect the Sun Dance lodge, a handful of individuals kneel with the calico offerings before the ceremonial leaders to have their faces painted. The past enthusiasm at raising the centre pole and pushing the rafters into place has become almost perfunctory. Few go forth to gather the green branches that form the outer wall. Only one or two dancers appear in yellow paint to dance inside the lodge. Nevertheless, the ceremony is considered indispensable, for without it the entire tribe risks misfortune. Since the eligible vowers are few and cannot afford the frequent, repeated expense that is involved, financing has become a public interest. Donations are solicited from the age-mates of the vower's husband; Horn Society members and chiefs make contributions as part of their community obligations. Under these circumstances the Sun Dance continues as a reunion of those who embrace Indian ways and as a time for them to display their solidarity with the past.

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Certain features of the Tobacco Dance have also changed. There has been a comparable simplification of ritual so that some of the winter "sings" for opening the Beaver Bundles have been omitted. More important is the change in character of ownership

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777 of bundles. Formerly these bundles were held for life by relatively
old men, but today younger men own them for short periods of a
778 few years. This reflects the general competition to own sacred ob-
422 jects, and the Beaver Bundles, though formerly outside this com-
petition, have entered it today. In keeping with this interest, the
777 number of bundles on the reserve has been increased from two to five,
778 since three were imported from other Blackfoot-speaking reserves.
Furthermore, rivalry between owners has led to the holding of two or
[796] more simultaneous Tobacco Dances at various parts of the reserve, in-
stead of the single ceremony with two or more bundles as in the past.

777 Vows of sacrifice in return for supernatural assistance during
time of crisis continues as in the past to be an important function
782 of ceremonial life. While the wealthier participate in the expensive
796 Sun Dance, Horn Society and Old Women's Society, there is a
galaxy of less expensive vows for the poor. Vows to assist the impor-
tant ceremonies in minor capacities are usually filled. Deer and
777 Ghost dances flourish. In addition to their traditional function,
796 sociability and recreation are also an important purpose, for all of
these vows imply participation in gatherings of people. These con-
517 tinue to be good, gay times for people, and the less expensive mem-
bership requirements of the Tobacco Dance society give opportunity
for many to join. Perhaps the loss of interest in a Medicine Pipe on
the Blackfoot reserve may be explained by the fact that its cere-
monies were never occasions for large celebrations with many people.
In addition the cost of a Medicine Pipe has risen to an almost pro-
777 hibitive price. Finally, all these ceremonials, but especially the Sun
Dance and Tobacco Dance, reaffirm solidarity with the past. They
796 offer the opportunities for dressing in Indian costume, for being in a
tipi, for hearing familiar sounds; only then is the old life renewed with the camp announcers who shout orders around the camp circle, the boys that sing through the night, the men and women who sing praise songs at dawn. Though all other aspects of life may have changed, the ceremonial details continue. Old people, previously too sick to sit erect, insist on attending the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Dance, happy if they can die there. For the very old an element of sadness also enters, for it reminds them of deceased comrades, and they feel lonely. One man expressed this in the following way: "I feel bad when I talk about war deeds. I do not like to talk about them because I feel lonely for those people who are now dead. Next year at the Sun Dance I am going to put up a tent just for old people to tell their stories."

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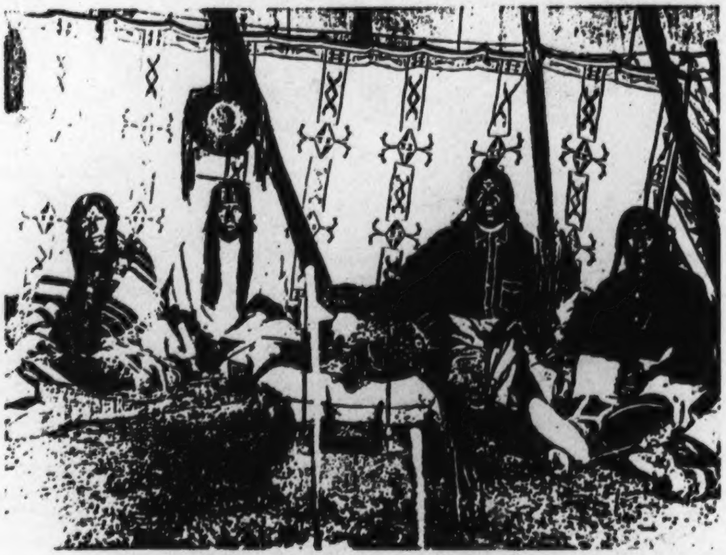

Fig. 3 — Interior of a Blackfoot lodge during a medicine pipe ritual, painted altar and incense smudge in center foreground. Photo courtesy of the Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta.

824 [825] been able to review this with him. He said that the cutting of small trees
was sanctified with fire originating from a sweet grass lighter.

TOBACCO

Nicotiana multivalvis

276 796 Smoking was an important part of Blackfoot ritual: like the communal
182 meal, it tended to emphasize the inclusiveness of those partaking.
575 249 Traditionally, the native tobacco (*Nicotiana multivalvis*) was ceremonially
796 planted and harvested by members of a North Blackfoot society known as the
Tobacco society (Fig. 4). (It is noteworthy that this society was not a
[184] [561] part of the age-graded system and that it was maintained only by the North
Blackfoot.) For about a week, each spring, members gathered at the sacred
planting-grounds. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied the sowing. The tobacco
[237] [415] seed, with fertilizer, had been stored through the winter in pericardium
containers of the society's Tobacco bundles. (The same bundle, less certain
paraphernalia, was alternately called the Beaver bundle.)

249 [782] Between the period of planting and havensting, taboos prevented anyone
[784] from visiting the plots, because the young plants were being tended by
[786] supernatural Small People, who did their gardening in return for offerings
[776] of miniature apparel, which had been left at the close of the planting
ceremony (Fig. 5).

824 778 At harvest, in the fall, the seed was used to replenish the bundle
276 supplies, and the leaves were distributed to the appropriate claimants, who
[249] in turn later distributed leaves to the other divisions of the tribe. The
tobacco usually was mixed with the leaves of kinnikinnik (*Arctos-taphylos uva-ursi*) or the dried cambium or red-osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera*).
The mixtures were included with all religious bundles---either in the bundle
proper or in a preliminary bundle.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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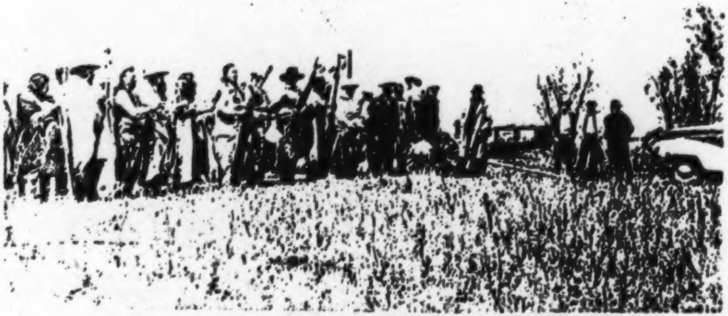

Fig. 4 — Preliminary dancing before planting ceremonies of the Tobacco Society (North Blackfoot). Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

/Northern Blackfoot/

439 276 178 The Blackfoot gave names to the different forms of introduced (trade-goods) tobacco: Crow Gut, Twist, Pressed, Hudson Bay. These gradually replaced the native plant in the rituals.

276 ●796 Ritual smoking was begun by an orderly, who filled the pipe (Fig. 6) and
passed it, unlit, to the man sitting next to the officiating ceremonialist.
[554] This man had the favored position because of his wealth in bundle ownership.
He drew on the unlit pipe four times and then passed it back to the orderly,
who lit the pipe and gave it to the man next to the distinguished bundle-
owner. This man drew on the pipe four times (not inhaling) and blew the
smoke upward. Then the pipe was passed sunwise (clockwise) to each partici-
pant until it reached the door of the tipi, whence it was returned to the
[562] orderly. The pipe was not passed across the door to the other side of the
lodge, where women and children were seated. If the pipe went out during
the smoke, it was given to the orderly, who cleaned and refilled it.

[554] The manner in which the participant received the pipe varied according to bundle ownership. Thus, a Medicine Pipe bundle-owner would grasp the pipe roughly with both hands half clenched, imitating the actions of a bear.

276 796 554 A ceremony in which smoking had special significance was the Big Smoke,
or All Smoking, ceremony. This ceremony was confined to ceremonialists,
diviners, and bundle-owners. They gathered for the single purpose of
recounting their prestigious and wealthy positions in the tribe. The Big
Smoke commenced at sundown and continued until daybreak, and there was
[533] continuous use of many pipes. Four songs were allowed to be sung for each
bundle owned; participants would often qualify for sixteen songs or more.

WILLOWS

Salix spp.

137 Many species of willow occupy habitats from the highest alpine ridges

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

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which had been gathered by members of the Pigeon Society. The Motokiks Society (a woman's society) constructed its lodge with twelve willows. Medicine Pipes had fourteen. The used frame of a sweat lodge was left on the prairie (Fig. 10).

[184]
[484]
In winter some persons built sweat lodges on a circular ground-frame. We were told of a man named Stumic-so-suc (Buffalo Bull's Fat) who built such a lodge and transported it with him, intact, whenever camp was moved.

[796] Another function of the sweat lodge was to seal the ceremonial bundles at the close of the Sun Dance.

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[796]
Annual ceremonies of the Motokiks and Kaispa Societies used the pitch of willow galls for incense. It was also used during the transfer ceremonies of the Yellow-buffalo and Black-fuffalo tipi designs, the Hairlock robe, various tipi doors and numerous personal amulets.

SAGE

Artemisia ludoviciana Nutt.

824 Three kinds of sage were recognized by the Blackfoot, but only one was used in religious ritual. Artemisia ludoviciana (Fig. 11), known as man sage, is common throughout the prairie and foothills and may be gathered at any time during the summer months. It was fresh when used in the sweat lodges.

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Participants in the sweat-lodge ceremonies wiped the sweat from their bodies with this sage. Sage was used to cleanse the headdresses of the Horn Society before they were transferred to new owners. In that transferral the headdress was laid on a bed of man sage. The singers of the All Smoking ceremony cleansed themselves with it. When ceremonial moccasins were put away they were packed with man sage.

The Holy Offering of the All Smoking ceremony and of certain Horn

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 26]

796 Society rituals was traditionally made from two incense tongs, but recently
824 [178] two poles crossed at right angles have been used. Eagle feathers and cloth
[237] are attached at the top. The sage is tied at both ends of the arms and
at the center, where the poles cross (Fig. 12), balls of sage are also used
to cleanse the body during participation in the All Smoking Ceremony.

[782] In the Okan (Holy Lodge) of the Sun Dance the Lodge dancers wore sage
around their wrists and ankles---as though they were themselves offerings.

[785] Among the Peigan, one man fasted until the Okan center pole was raised;
[302] then he entered a sweat lodge and used sage to wipe off the black paint
with which he had been covered. In early times sage was used as a bed for
the Buffalo Stones (Iniskim) during buffalo drive rituals.

[823] It seems that the proper way to dispose of the sage was to throw it
eastward rather than burn it or just put it down. There were other uses of
[775] course. A person afraid of a ghost would cleanse himself with sage. A
[773] man who was going to enter a horse race might do the same. There does not
appear to be an origin myth for this plant.

SASKATOON

Amelanchier alnifolia Nutt

824 796 The saskatoon (Fig. 13) is a well known bush of the river bottoms and
262 coulee slopes. Its berries make preserves and tasty snacks. They were
included in Blackfoot ritual meals. A berry soup accompanied most
ceremonial events, such as the transfer of a tipi design or the opening
[462] of a Medicine Pipe bundle or a Beaver bundle. The woman prepared the
soup from saskatoon berries, assorted roots, fat, and water. At an appointed
[782] time during the ceremony this soup was served to all participants. The soup
was blessed, and an offering of one of the berries was put back into the
ground, before eating began. A few mouthfuls were taken; then the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

824
796 remainder of the soup was given to one or another of the women, who would
262 take it home to her children.

Although the saskatoon was the berry most often used in making the soup, one informant told us that the choke cherry (Prunus virginiana) was brewed for the Beaver bundle ceremony and by those who had vowed to sponsor a Holy Lodge.

824 The saskatoon also figured in the Tobacco Planting ceremony of the North
[241]
[237] Blackfoot. The berries were mixed with elk manure and tobacco seed, and the mixture was planted in a small prairie plot.

The saskatoon was referred to as the "real berry bush".

POPLARS

Populus spp.

824
346 The poplars that grow in profusion along the river-bottoms and dominate the parkland bordering the prairie served in Blackfoot religion only for the making of the centerpoles of the ceremonial lodges (Fig. 14).

The centerpoles of the Okan (Holy Lodge of the Sun Dance) and the Motokiks Society lodges were made originally from aspen (Populus tremuloides, Fig. 15);
292
824 later, any kind of river cottonwood was used. In addition, the Motokiks
575 wore headwreaths of aspen (Fig. 16). The rest of the Motokiks lodge was
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346 constructed of travois frames, which were leaned against each other to form
[417] a framework for the walls and roof.

346 For the Okan, the pole was chosen by the members of the Horn Society who
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796 had acted as scouts. They derived their authority from bundles owned for
[575] this purpose. A scout had to be a man renowned for courage and honesty.
[701]
[778] When he found a suitable tree he counted coup four times before felling it.
[555] When it was down, the bystanders rushed to the tree and counted coup on it as though it were an enemy; indeed, that was what it symbolized.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 331]

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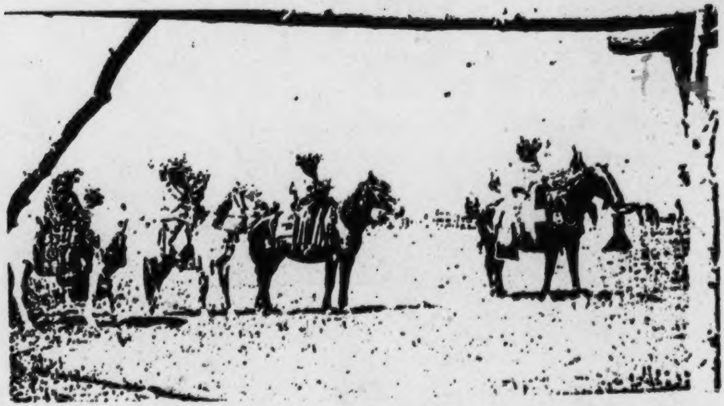

Fig. 16 — Motokiks Society members wearing head wreaths of aspen at Blackfoot Sun Dance. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

346 The tree was debranched and carried (by wagon, in later days) to its
824 place of erection. All could help in raising the center pole, and while it
796 was going up everybody sang songs of rejoicing and fired guns into the air.
Then certain societies were chosen to gather branches for use in completing
[178] the lodge. In recent times, among the North Blackfoot these duties have
[575] fallen to the Prairie Chicken and Crazy Dog societies. They return on
horseback, holding the boughs erect and singing songs of joy.

[823] The parade traverses the camp sunwise and enters by the west gate (Fig. 17).

CREEPING JUNIPER

Juniperus horizontalis Moench

824 Creeping juniper (Fig. 18), called sik-si-nou-koo ("black round object (berry)") in Blackfoot, is a common plant of the plains. Although it is strongly aromatic, it was not used as incense; however, there were other uses for its branches and berries.

824 The Holy Lodge dancer of the Sun Dance performed upon a carpet of
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[784] juniper branches. It was forbidden to spit on the covering; instead, one
[237] had to lift the branches and spit under them. An Okan dancer held the wing
[292] of an owl in his left hand and a branch of juniper in the other. One
informant said that, in addition to carrying the branch, some dancers wore
headpieces of juniper berries; the headpiece had seven berries representing
[532] the Bunched Stars (Pleiades). (The same stars are portrayed in tipi designs.)
Sprigs of creeping juniper were also used symbolically to decorate the altar
of the Marten-designed tipi.

[533] Although there does not seem to have been any song directly associated
with the creeping juniper, there was an indirect reference in the songs of
[292] the Weasel-tailed suits. These suits, which were fringed with white weasel
[237] tails, were considered to be very powerful and had to be transferred just

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 36]

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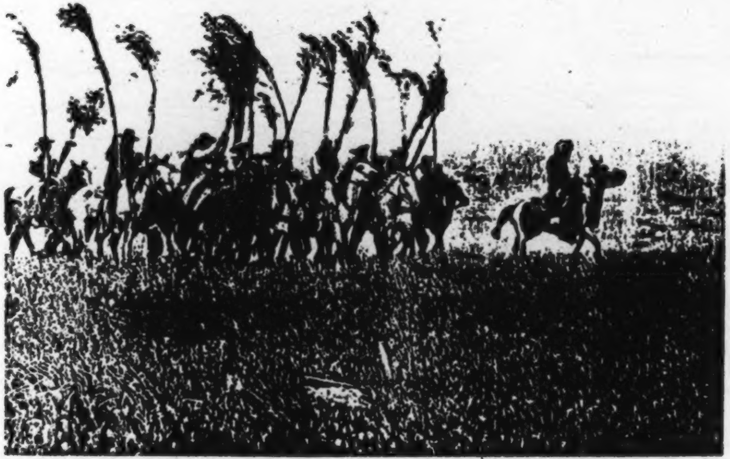

Fig. 17 — Bringing in the branches for the Sun Dance lodge. Blackfoot. Photo courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada.

824 like a religious bundle. One informant, who owned a Weasel-tailed suit,
● 796 [237] said that the black tip of the weasel's tail represented a creeping juniper
[292] berry that had become attached.

ALPINE FIR

824 Abies lasiocarpa (Hook) Nutt

783 782 Katoy-yis, the Blackfoot "sweet pine"----that is, alpine fir (Fig. 19)----
was used an incense, primarily in association with the Medicine Pipe bundles.
[276] This was because pipes had been given by Thunder. Similarly, a smudge of
[773] alpine-fir needles was made, for safety's sake during severe thunderstorms.
[789] [821] For the benefit of the reader and student we have included a list of medicine
778 783 824 pipe bundles with which the use of this plant is required as incense:

Long Time Pipe
Riding Pipe
Gros Ventre Pipe
Cree Pipe
Mandan Pipe
Opposite Direction Pipe
Arapahoe Pipe
Childrens Pipe
Short Pipe
Small Pipe
Red Covered Pipe
Shaggy Covered Pipe
White Mans Pipe
Sarsi Pipe
Numerous unnamed medicine pipe bundles

000 We have found fir needles in the initiation bundles of the Horn Society.

782 LUPINES

●796 *Lupinus* spp.

302 824 Lupines (Fig. 21) called "wolf turnips" by the Blackfoot, were used as incense in the Ghost Dance. (This was not the rivivalist movement dance of recent times.) The ceremonialist who was sponsoring it chewed the leaves of a lupine before he undertook any face painting. He did so to reinforce his powers.

YELLOW ANGELICA

Angelica dawsonii S. Wats

824 278 This is probably the most interesting of all the plants of religious use. The root, a religious power medicine, was called *sau-gas-sim*, it was also used medicinally. There are three ways in which *Angelica* (Fig. 22) was [777] used: for luck in games of chance, for individual power by ceremonialists and diviners, and for collective power in designated societies. The [782] harvesting of the root was the same in all cases: those responsible for [285] gathering it would first pray; the root was dug while more prayers were sung; and the newly dug roots were tied to a circular piece of rawhide by means of a thong, which was laced through holes along the rim. The roots were kept there until needed.

541 824 777 For luck, the root was used in horse-racing and in the hand game. In the horse race, the root was tied in a small bundle and attached to the base of the tail or to the bridle. No other horse could pass the one carrying *sau-gas-sim*. In a variation of this casting of a spell so that other horses could not pass, the root was held in the rider's mouth. Short pieces were broken from the stem of man sage (*Artemisia ludoviciana*) and a small, flat, white stone was collected. The man first sprayed the rock with juice from his mouth. Then the stems were placed on the ground; they represented the [801] other horses. The stone was sprayed again and shoved toward the stems, without touching them, three times. At the fourth shove the stone was pressed onto the stems.

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43)

824 We have been
575 told that the power root was once included in the rites of
[561] most of the age-graded societies and of the Matoas Beaver and Medicine Pipe bundles. Most of these rites are now extinct; only the rites of the Horns and the Motokiks persist, and they are incomplete.

796 In the Horn Society the root figured mainly in the initiation ceremonies:
824 it could be found in the nontransferable initiation bundles. Having been
575
778 distributed by the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others, down to the owner of the Spear Staff bundle to the others down to the owner of the Marten, the root was kept in the mouth and used to bless the initiates. After the ritual the root was tied to the paint-application sticks (Fig. 23 &24), to fortify and replenish the supernatural power inherent in the paint. The same was done with a wooden scratching-pin, which was either worn in the hair or attached to one's garments. This was done in preparation for the next opening ceremony.

[842] Sau-gas-sim was used during the secret ceremony of the Horns, in which the chief ceremonialist participated in a fertility rite with the initiates's wife. Pieces of the root were attached to the binding of the Spear Staff (with bundle), which was the head staff of the society.

[754]
[343] Apparently, curses were indulged in by the Horn Society as a whole. In this case a special sweat lodge was constructed. A human figure representing the condemned man was drawn in the bottom of a pit intended to contain hot stones. The stones were brought in at a designated time and placed on the drawing to represent the victim's suffering. The power root was kept in the mouth during this ceremony.

[302]
[292] The Pigeon Society used the same root during the ritual of body-painting and in the same manner as did the Horn Society. The root was tied to the headdresses of all members of this society.

000 Society members were very careful to avoid being provoked while the root

824 PLANTS IN CRAFT AND FOLKLORE

Abies lasiocarpa

The needles were used as a deodorant and were packed with stored items, saddle pads, or burned in a household smudge.

Acer glabrum

[386] [415] Small cases of the folded bark contained the grease which was mixed with ochre to make paint. A larger carrying case was made of the same material and worn under the left arm.

Allium spp.

[237] A piece of hide was dipped in a decoction of *Allium* bulb and used to shine arrows. The bulbs were also rubbed on quivers as a deodorant.

Amelanchier alnifolia

[431] [524] [222] Favors were asked while presenting a gift of four of the berries. The receiver was obliged to return the goodwill. Girls played a game while harvesting the berries. After some berries had been gathered the girls would sit together and hold their breath while another called out 'tops, tops, tops' at a regular beat. Each girl put a berry in her bag for every call and the one who held her breath the longest won all the other girls' berries.

Anemone patens

[522] [514] Because the plant acted as vessicant, pranks were played on unsuspecting people who would ask someone to fetch them some toilet paper. It worked especially well at night.

Arctostaphylos uva-ursi

534 ● [776] The dry berries were put in rattles (Fig. 33). They were preferred over stones because they were lighter and didn't make dust, a constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

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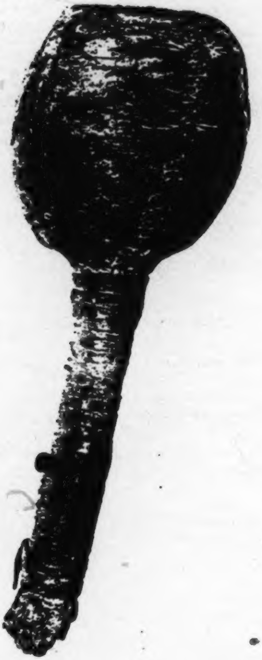

Fig. 33 — Ceremonial rattle of the North Peigan. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AP 1308.

824 534 problem during long ceremonies in which many rattles were used.

[796] [301] The dry berries were strung on necklaces.

This berry was the one used by the girl who escaped from the cannibal in the story of the Lost Children (Wissler, Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians, p. 128).

Artemisia campestris

[281] An infusion of the root was rubbed on a hide that was being tanned.

Artemisia frigida

For deodorant, saddles, (Fig. 34) womens' pillows, hide bags and quivers were stuffed with Artemisia frigida and A. ludoviciana.

[534] In the preparation of rattles, the skin was moulded around balls of the plant.

[237] [413] Paint applicators made from broken shoulder blades of buffalo or cattle were cleaned with A. frigida, then dipped in another color.

[751] Quantities of the plant were put on campfire coals and the smoke repelled mosquitoes.

[524] Children played a game of clubbing gophers unconcious and reviving them holding the crushed leaves to the animal's nostrils.

[281] Hides were treated with water in which the plant had been soaked or brewed.

Aster spp.

The various color forms of this genus were thought to be the effect of aging rather than indicative of taxonomic difference. The sequence went from white to blue and finally yellow.

[793] The Holy Woman of the Sun Dance wore a necklace of the yellow form.

[524] [857] Children rubbed the flowers on their bouncing arrows for color.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

752 It was a styptic on wounds and boiled with *Psoralea*
824 *esculenta* to treat coughs. The infusion of the fungus was taken to stop
278 diarrhea and treat dysentery.

757 *Populus tremuloides*

534 824 Whistles were made by loosening the bark of a branch replacing it and
blowing through it. Another type of whistle was made by blowing through
the moistened leaves.

824 *Potentilla anserina*

[291] The runners of the plant were used to fix leggings in place. The
leggings were tied above the knee and then folded over to the ankle, like a
[284] boot. Girls used the runners to tie blankets. Though the runners did not
hold their strength long, they were easily replaced.

Potentilla fruticosa

The plant, a small bush, was called "deer seat" because the animals were often found resting in clearings where the plant was common.

[513] Pillows were sometimes filled with the leaves.

Prunus virginiana

[352] The straight branches were used in making back-rests (Fig. 36). The
[796]
[252] hard wood, which did not burn easily, was used in making incense tongs
(Fig. 37) and roasting skewers.

Psoralea esculenta

[301] Pieces of the root were dried and attached to clothing and robes as ornamentation and medicine. Sometimes this root was scraped and used to replace the pieces of Polyporus which was attached to "Weasel-robes".

Ribes aureum

186 The Sarsi Indians were a constant source of humor to the Blackfoot.
522 Because they were Beaver Indians who were in the midst of adopting a plains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

● 796
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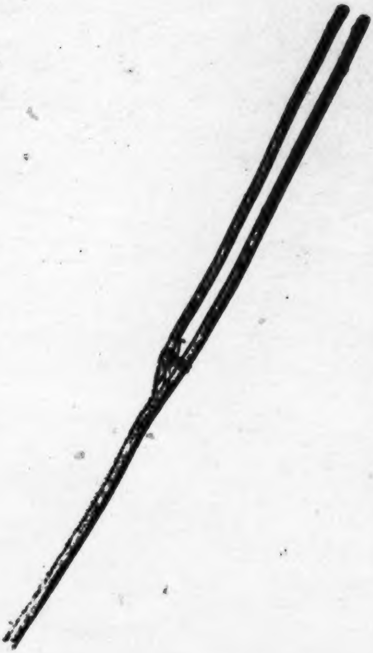

Fig. 37 -- Ceremonial incense tongs. North Peigan. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow-Alberta Institute. Ethnology Department. Catalogue No. AF 1308f.

824 [413] Spiraea densiflora

The flowering stems were used as paint brushes, especially on the large spaces of tipis.

Thacictrum occidentalis

The fruits were kept as a household and clothing deodorant and were often crushed and mixed with paint for a robe, etc.

Thermopsis rhombifolia

● [716] The flowering of this plant signaled the time when the sponsorers of the Holy Lodge were to begin collecting buffalo tongues in preparation for [224] the Sun Dance. It was also the time when the buffalo were fat enough for good hunting.

[386] Arrow shafts were rubbed with the yellow petals for coloring.

Viola adunca

[386] Apparently, a blue dye was obtained from this plant which was used in dying arrows.

COSMETIC USES OF PLANTS

Abies lasiocarpa

302 824 314 [515] The resin of the tree was chewed for bad breath and pleasure. Some would chew the resin and spit it on their hands. An infusion of the needles was mixed with grease and applied as a hair tonic. The needles were kept for their fine odor. They were often packed in moccasins as a foot deodorant.

Artemisia campestris

An infusion of the root was used as a hair tonic, especially with [278] children. It cleansed as well as treated scalp infections.

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be 101
noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was ob- [561]
tained among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of [575]
the data from other divisions.

THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of mem- 561
bers, and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:— 575

- The leader (1)
- The assistant leader (1)
- The bear shirts (2)
- The yellow pigeons (4)
- The pigeons (x)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (4)
- The drummers (4)
- Women members (1)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and 561
carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His 575
face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; 796
that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or
hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four [237]
arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony. [302]

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his dis- [534]
tinctive regalia, a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries
a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He [292]
carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with [411]
yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and
eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply [531]
rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts [237]
of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth
and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops [292]
of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U- [531]
shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed.
There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins
are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1).
The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger [302]
tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at
the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed
straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt [411]
points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and [292]

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● 796
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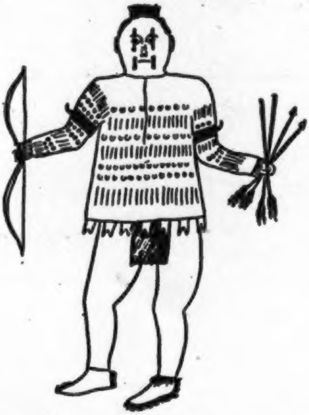

Fig. 1. Regalia of a Bear Shirt in the Pigeon Society. The wide belt of bearskin is not visible. From a sketch by Big-brave.

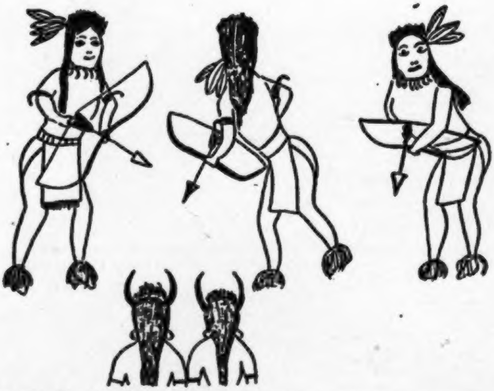

Fig. 2. Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons. There are four of these in the society, of which three are shown in the sketch. Drawn by a Piegan.

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they 561
were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on 575
their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle 796
tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to [411]
serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-
arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red [292]
(Fig. 2). [302]

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear [237]
clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off. Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. [302]
They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. [898]
These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure
and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count [887]
war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged [534]
with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members [535]
arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

561 The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are
575 the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drum-
● 796 mers make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which
all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records
show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the
songs of their ritual are begun.

[532]
[535]

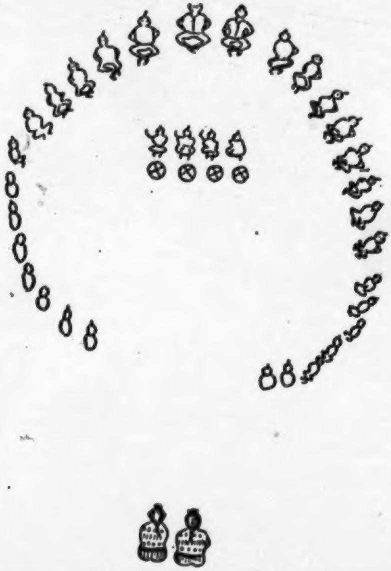

Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is
seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two
[237] bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other
societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass.
[535] In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sun-
wise, but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched
up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the danc-

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the 561
leaders rises and dances. 575

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance 796
around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and 535
dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time [533]
on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking
arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts,
rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed downward.
The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers
threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back
to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a
hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward
holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the [237]
spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their
heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears.
This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the
circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the
middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in
the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains.
The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they discharging
their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no signifi- 561
cance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest 575
historically.[1] So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by 796
purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths'
order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the 432
whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The
individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not un-
usual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This trans-
fer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A [346]
shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles.
Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

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[1] Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his [115]
eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it. [787]
This would make the date about 1852.

561 until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, pre-
575 sumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge
796 of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

> 432 When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

[578] After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as
575 follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1-2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

561 The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body
575 are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose.
796 He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band
[237] across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out.
[302] On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

[292] The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the
above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

[534] The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony,
blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.

The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, 561
the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so 575
that they may receive food and other assistance from the family. 796

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside
of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to 561
the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before 575
their pieces of rawhide. 796

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing 535
this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A 561
shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to con- 575
duct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to 432
that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to [346]
entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.[1]

THE BRAVES. 561

575

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)
Willow brave (1)
White braves (4)
Black braves (4)
Bear braves (4)

Braves (x)
Old men comrades (4)
Single men comrades (4)
Drummers (4)

---

[1] Maximilian, 116.

561 The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a
575 feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he
796 wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped
[534] with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The
[237] right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

[292] The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

[302]
[411]
[531]

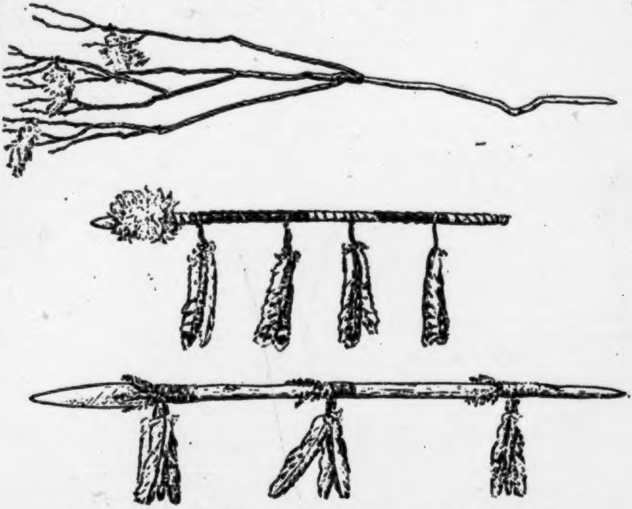

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Fig. 4 *a* (50-5582), *b* (50-5573), *c* (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: *a* The Willow Brave's Staff; *b* Lance for the Leader; *c* Lance of the White Braves.

561 The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow
575 branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.)
796 His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

[824] The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies
are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs,
[237] calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head
[292] are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the
corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the
[302] Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white
braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, 561
painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage 575
grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord 796
should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without [292]
regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding [411]
societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony, they use the painting of the lay members. [237]

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in
as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that [924]
food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated [634]
with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume [411]
is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder
or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water [302]
pail. [237]

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society.
They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here,
they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken [237]
feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red [302]
paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are [292]
painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one [411]
piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex-members [533]
in ordinary costume." [534]

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the
center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, 561
the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When 575
at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white 796
braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows 535
his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances [534]
rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances
near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the
feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions.
The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances
and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round.
The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance,
but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but
sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the [237]

561 throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both
575 feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn
796 bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.
535 These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into
[237] the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file
out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it,
then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

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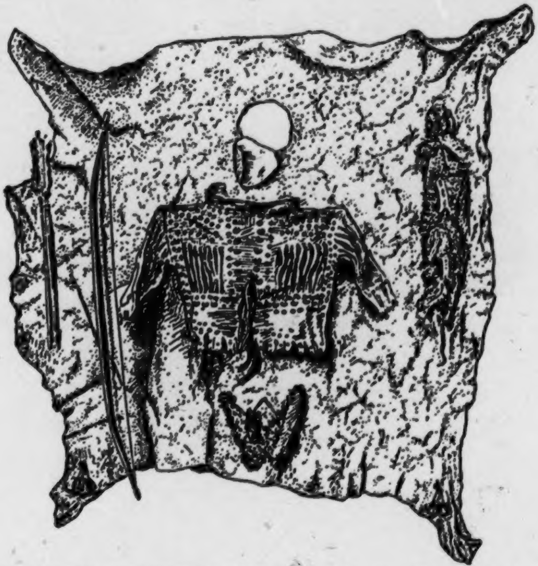

Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

561 moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march
575 back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around
796 the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.
[535] This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in
their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.
[346] At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not 561
live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they 575
may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently 796 ●
that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be [346]
desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes,
however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out 561
accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they 575
seize is strung. [796]

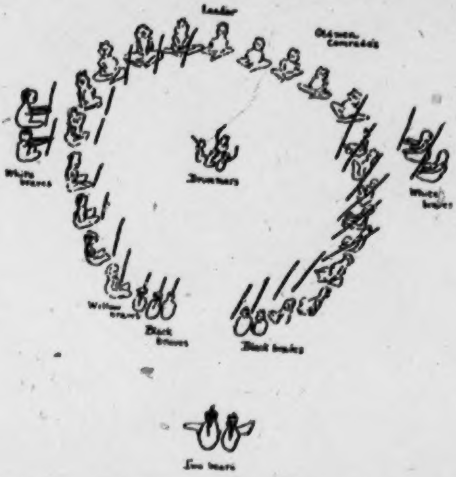

Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony Drawn by a Piegan.

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The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so [432]
join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

561 usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-
575 dogs, all at the same time.

● 796 Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running
[432] out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves
threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that
once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing
the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and
began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with
their medicine powers and retired.

[114] Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

> They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.[1]

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

561 The organization of this society is as follows:—
575

- Leader (1)
- Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)
- Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)
- All-brave-dogs (20)
- Old men comrades (4)
- Single men comrades (2)
- Drummers (4)

561 The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its
575 middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail,
796 hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his
[292] left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth,
and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

[237] Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies
[302] they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if
possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips,
[237] neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

[534] The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are
[411] the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

---

[1] Maximilian, 117.

[292]
[237]
[531]

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small 561
horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest 575
the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts 796
made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom [292]
and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the [237]
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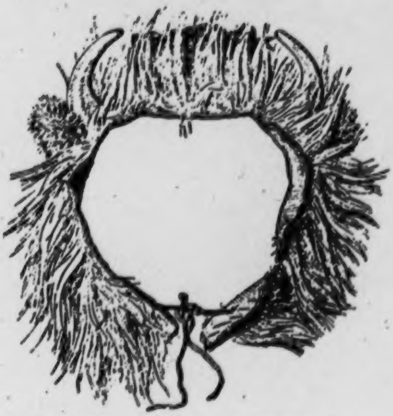

Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.

[532]

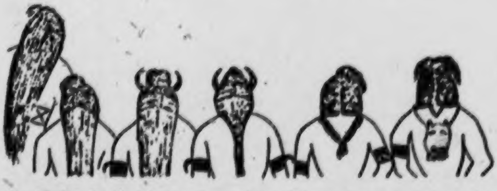

Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The 561
shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, mocca- 575
sins, a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For paint- 796
ing they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from [292]
[531]
[237]
[411]
[302]

561 the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his cere-
575 monial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

● [796] In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat,
they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and
[302] stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, some-
[431] times taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time
he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

561 There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food
575 at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests
264 in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his mem-
bership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

561 The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets
575 tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In
796 the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in
535 line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp.
Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear,
[292] dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may
stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the

all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution 561
was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing 575
as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the
camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands 796
during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may 535

[532]

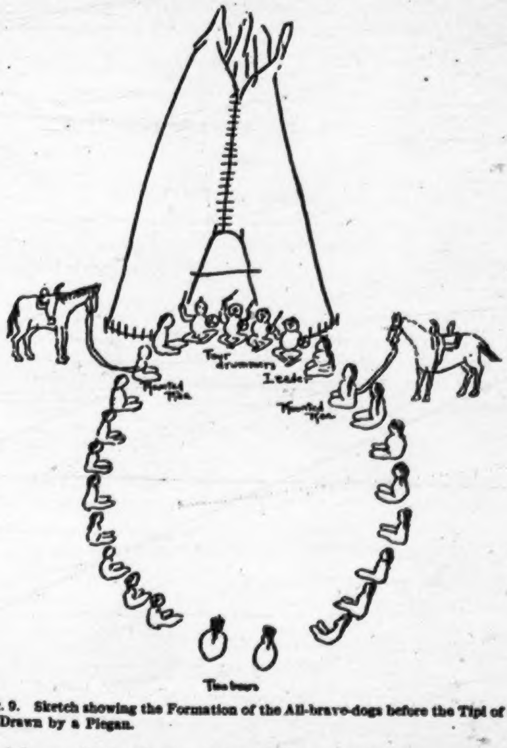

Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

575 The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also
561 one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the cere-
[276] monies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar
[554] smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy
his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that
[424] there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay
[432] member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course,
of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay mem-
[292] bers have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left
[237] arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each wears a feather.

[534] An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their
[531] painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the
[302] painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin.
[796] When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the
[787] rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this way.

[887] The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride
[203] about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired.
[534] These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear a feather at the back of his head.

[292] The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such
[237] as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society
[556] usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the society.

[796] A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This
[535] is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal 561
dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9). 575

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride 796
around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them 535
down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance. This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number 561
of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter 575
means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake 796
their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used. 533
[539]

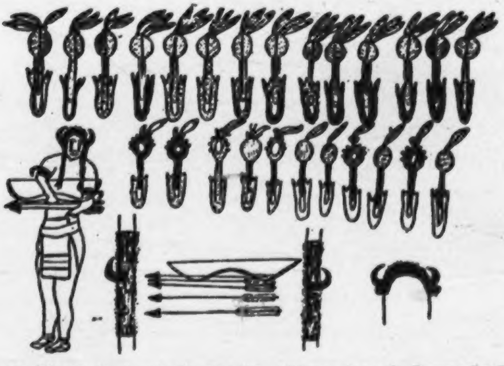

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Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the 561
camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other 575
presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet [431]
they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are 561
supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a 575
particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as de- 432
scribed in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the 424
same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased [778]

561 at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a
575 filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the
432 membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is
424 then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership, a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

561 Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that
575 it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in
174 turn got it from the "Black Indians"(?). On the other hand, no society of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

THE FRONT-TAILS.

561 Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but
575 there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be given as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Front-tails (x)
Old men comrades (?)
Single men comrades (?)
Pipe keeper (1)
Drummers (4)
Women members (?)

561 The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle
575 tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise.
796 Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn
[302] the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a
[237] stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound
[292] around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red
[531] cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front." The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

[302] The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers. Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles. 561

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men. 575

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning. "Because 796
the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors
they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits 535
directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free [534]
hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the [825]
leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is

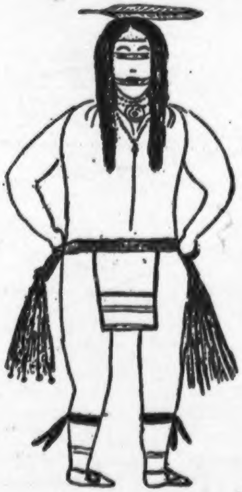

Fig. 11.

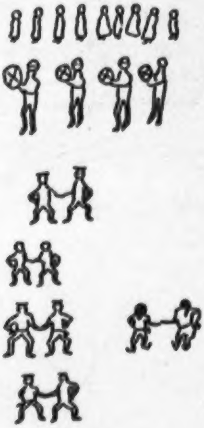

Fig. 12.

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Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.
Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind 561
with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and 575
smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the 796
drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before 535
each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry
nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes 561
obtained from Big-brave:— 575
796
432

561
575 At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a
796 rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave
432 was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were
to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gath-
[424] ered together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to
make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become
[114] members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom
[115] they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have
women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went
[346] with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase.
[237] The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo
dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was
[824] about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members.
Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing
the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first
he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought
that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received
one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge
[302] place and the transferrer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so,
the transferrer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down
with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted
across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin
and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times,
[292] and then given to him to put on. The transferrer then took up the otterskin which
is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge
[237] place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The
[531] strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferrer had a piece of prairie turnip in his
[824] mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is
the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to
[778] be very sacred.

Then the transferrer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it
[292] four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds,
[237] and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather,
wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a
[531] buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the
belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times,
told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the
tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all
cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given
him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by
it his foot was held by the transferrer and passed four times to the smudge; then he
stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was
brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each 561
transferrer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member.
Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society. 575

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and 796
had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with 432
their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums
once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time [534]
the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced [535]
facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his [264]
tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferrer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferrers went out on a [224]
hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferrer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege [424]
of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be 561
found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with 575
some variation. It opens as follows:— 539

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants 561
have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who
saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once 575
marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all. 173

THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

561
575 The organization consists of:—

Leader (1)	Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
Assistant leader (1)	Pipe keeper (1)
Black-raven-bearers (1)	Drummers (4)

561 The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to
575 which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of
796 a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he
[292] wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398).A
There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According
[237] to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the
[531] skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The
[302] wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the
beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were
[532] also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from
buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other
informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

[531] The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members,
[302] except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that
of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

[531] The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed
[237] with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with
red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers
[302] and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the
raven's excrement.

[531] The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black
and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.[1] They paint their faces
[302] red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs
[535] are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry
their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

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[1] Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.

A, [See Category 116, p. 398--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 395]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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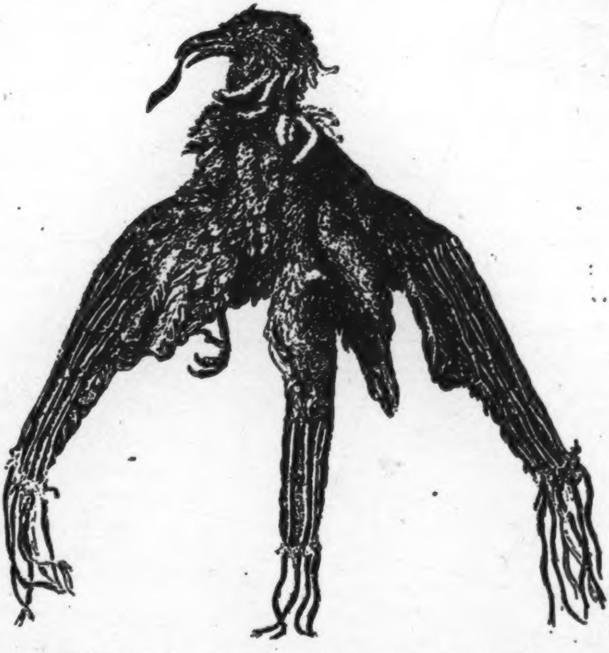

Fig. 13 (50-5410a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

[p. 393]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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● 796
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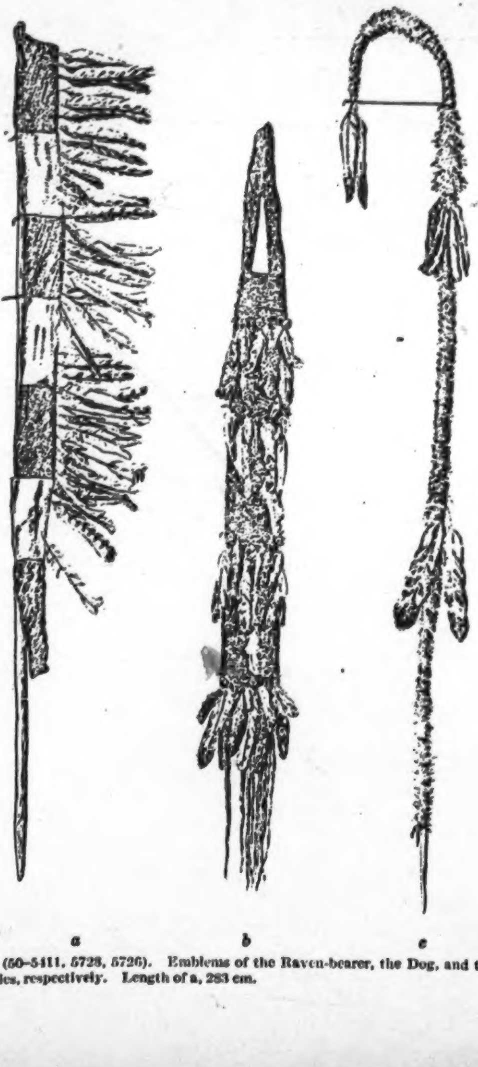

Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

THE DOGS.

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The organization is as follows:—

The Black-Dog (1)
Assistant Leader (1)
The Black-dancers (2)
The Dogs (40)
Old men comrades (2)
Single men comrades (3–4)
Pipe keeper (1)

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair 561
fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered 575
with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made 796
from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and [292]
there with feathers. [237]

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the
Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to [531]
him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl [184]
feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to
whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society
had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that [292]
it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers [531]
instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described
above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits [237]
or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, [534]
fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The
dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while 561
the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to 575
the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until 796
the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the 535
dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, [431]
the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing
this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the
society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied.
According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about
the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although 561
as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the trans- 575
fer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he 796
432
[173]

561 was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the purchaser
575 could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter
as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a
● 796 wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident.
432 Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was
173 still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians.
582 All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who
by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 397]

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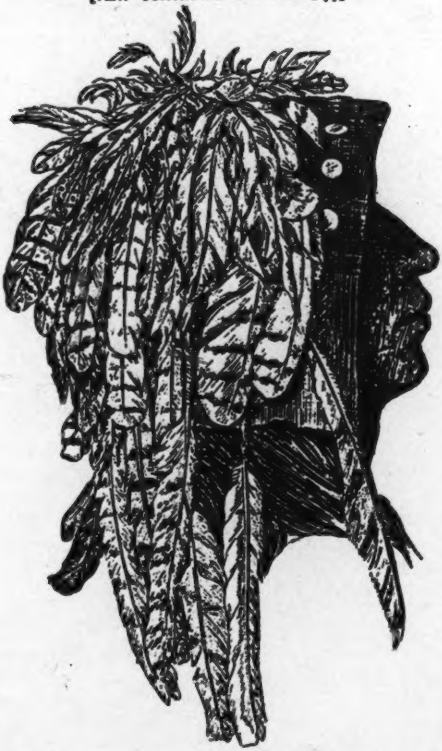

Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

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575

his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the 796
arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that 432
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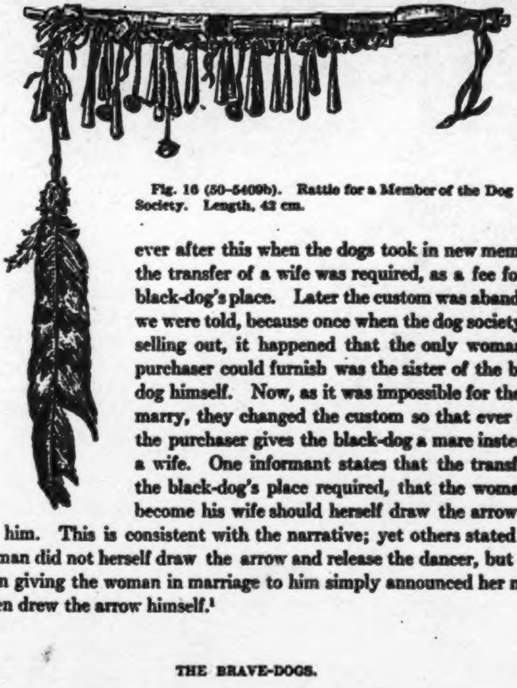

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Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, 561
the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the 575
black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned 796
we were told, because once when the dog society was 432
selling out, it happened that the only woman the 173
purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black- 582
dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.[1]

THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (motsomita) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote- 561
brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two indi- 575
viduals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the 124
all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

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[1] See also Curtis, 6, 26.

561 support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around
575 through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other
124 societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is
561 attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle
575 feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck com-
796 plete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum.
[534] This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and
in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state,
[237] however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not pre-
[292] viously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used
[778] by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is
[302] given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted
[825] red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In
explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose
are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his
meat whenever he looks for it.

561 The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They
575 must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn
726 back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward
regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in
front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions
desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping.
Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip
and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

> Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboine in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboine were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboine. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

561 Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs
575 and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with
539 their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my
body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song
in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and
take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for 561
men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the 575
transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four [432]
nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes.

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:— [424]

> All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were
younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, [432]
on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in
the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the [424]
owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked
it, the transfer took place.

THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very
powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the socie-
ties of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strong-
est medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. [184]
They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar
secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."[1] In the main it [114]
is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the
other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumer-
ated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.[2] We pre- [173]
viously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following pas-
sage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume
on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."[3] The full import of
this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise 561
account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin 575
of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck 796
and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the
feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip [292]
[237]
[531]

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[1] Grinnell, 222.
[2] Curtis, 6, 26.
[3] Vol. 2, 121.

561 of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint."
575 Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow
796 and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was
[292] also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around
the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

[237] There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and
[531] bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with
[302] yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men comrades.
[411] They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost
[237] their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had
wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion
[531] of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the
end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14).[A] The butt of
the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel
skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one
of the pair rode a black horse.

[411] Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater
[237] length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places
covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was
[531] called the white lance.

[411] The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped.
[237] They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims
that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small
[531] pipe painted red (p. 413).[B] They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but
[276] must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be
fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their
[302] moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of
[292] sage.

[276] According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes,
or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other
[124] members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this
society, as for the catchers.

[346] For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods
supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the
sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the
opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers.
The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The
[535] lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public
ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their
sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which

[A] [See Category 116, p. 394--Analyst]

[B] [See Category 116--Analyst]

the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been 561
no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others 575
formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a
forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was 796
circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the 535
leaders to reverse them (p. 412).A When the procession again reached the
starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

> When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made [346]
> them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing
> themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside
> of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief [272]
> wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in
> front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his [237]
> back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and [302]
> inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man,
> carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was [411]
> covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the
> same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. [531]
> The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other
> members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes [825]
> run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.[1]

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days [539]
are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are
powerful."

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[1] McClintock, 446–447.

A. [See Category 116--Analyst]

432 The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer.[A] For
561 this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were
required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night
575 they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious
● 796 thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves
[784] with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers
they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time
561 must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his
575 fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or
[789] trap the kit-fox.[1] According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer
[825] and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and
rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up.
In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring
up a snow-storm."[2]

[302] Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.[3]

[173] In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)
Pipe men (2)
Tomahawk men (2)
Catchers (x)
Drummers (4)
Women members (x)

---

[1] McClintock, 416.

[2] Grinnell, 262.

[3] Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns."

A. [See Category 116, p. 401--Analyst]

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem 561
to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed 575
their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine. [411]

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a
black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely [778]
around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or [302]
hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that
the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and [292]
chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose. [531]

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though [124]
the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their
rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present 796
owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that 432
of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The 276
pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular
medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers 778
society and the iniskim (buffalo rock). [561]

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:— [575]

> First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and
> singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then [539]
> he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs,
> "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe [539]
> and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then
> make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and
> placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe,
> holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, [539]
> the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the
> drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it.
> Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle [302]
> around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing
> the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, [535]
> everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and
> dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the
> north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice
> towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as
> he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before, until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child
> present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout [534]
> and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed
> back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is
> tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

796 request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner
432 a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring
276 four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described
276 performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses,
778 blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they
[435] paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now, however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

561 The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore
575 buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings
[292] were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The
function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct
[531] in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever
[625] there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes
[532] or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered
[411] with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the
ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the
[237] leaders we find the following:— "They carry as their badge a wooden club
[531] the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle."
(117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

[796] In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

[625] When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 110) tended to preserve the ritual.

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose narrative we give in substance. 561 575

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream: — [173]

A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."[1] This seems to be the same general type as used by the horn society. 561 575

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the brave society. 796 [292]

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before. [237]

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drummers were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always some distance outside of the camp circle. 561 575 796 535 After they had lined up, they waited until a horseman performed a curious ceremony.[2] As he set out he carried some robes and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp. Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. [372] All this time the men in line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horseman rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

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[1] Vol. 7, 114.

[2] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young. [114]

561 The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator
575 warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two
[787] dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

[173] All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when
transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

561 They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side
575 out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished.
292 The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was
531 painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail.
237 Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of
● 796 the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the
feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint.
[411] As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the
bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood
color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.[1]

[535] The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

561 When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side,
575 but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were
796 placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to
535 the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all.
These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.[2]

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them. At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw
[411] a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and
threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

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[114] [1] Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

[2] Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same 561
the songs of this society are sung. 575

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still [173]
another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The 561
following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the mem- 575
bers of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man 796
called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and
to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on
a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white 561
earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo 575
head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders 796
292
531
237
[532]

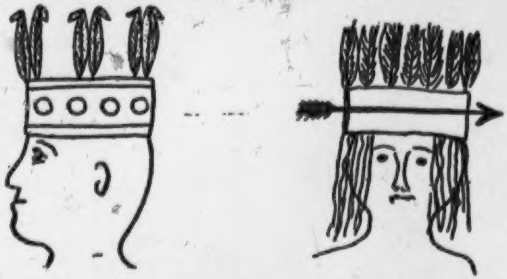

Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while
at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their
tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth
which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore [411]
a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and
feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally
across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and
after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, 561
he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the 575
fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked
in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the 796
bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they 535
[372]

561 575 776 535 started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

[787] During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

[173] Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

561 575 [114] While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis[1] denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,[2] Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

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[1] Curtis, 6, 28.

[2] Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medecine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medecine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579.) A

A. [See p. 408-A for translation--Analyst]

BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and consistent 561
in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 575
306) shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the 184
all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for [346]
their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The 561
members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth 575
and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were 796
strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a 292
band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An 237
eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns. 531

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoulders. [302]
Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

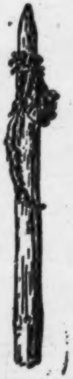
When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside 561
the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he 575
nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restrainment or punishment [625]
of offenders.

A.[See Category 116--Analyst]

THE CATCHERS.

561 575 ● 796 [411] [531] [237] [276] [292] [531] [237]

The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the leaders. The members carried a curious club, spoken of as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a bunch of buffalo dew claws.



[302] [625]

Fig. 18 (50–5410a). Club carried by the Catchers. Blood. Length, 68 cm.

According to one informant the pipestem is covered with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers. The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buffalo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50–4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

THE HORNS.

561 575 [184] [124] [126] [796] [782] [114]

While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken part in the ceremonies:— 561 575

The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women. It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret. [784] The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most solemn oath. [695] Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns."

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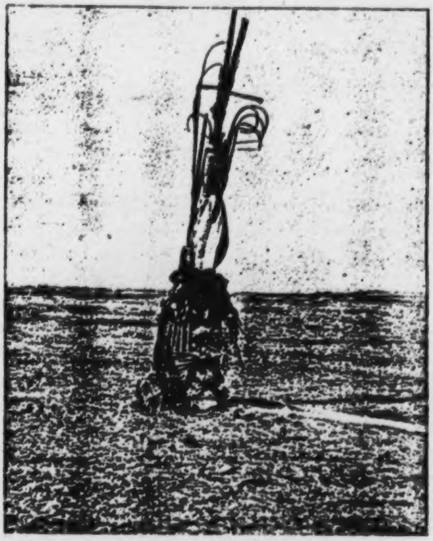


Fig. 19. Photograph showing the Offerings of the Horn and Ma'toki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903).

Like other societies the rule is for all the members to sell, or transfer at the same time. This transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women belong, usually husbands and wives, though the latter seem to have a minor part. 561 575

There are two male leaders. They wear similar regalia; weasel tail shirts and leggings with bonnets bearing horns and tails. One of these bonnets bears a small arrow, sticking straight out in front. (Fig. 20.) [292] [237]

Next in rank are two men wearing "straight-up-bonnets." (One of these was [531] [796]

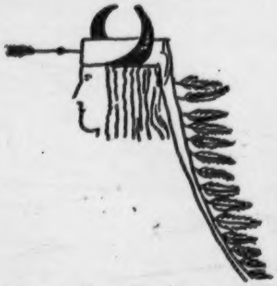
561 secured, Fig. 21.[A] It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each
575 of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon
292 at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can
237 dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet
531 long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in
● 796 sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its
[533] bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one.
[411] They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black
horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties
[302] four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit
and paints the face red. Sometimes he
[411] wears a white hat. Both men carry
hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp cir-
561 cle. The members sit in a three quarter circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one
575 of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black
hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the
796 circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set
535 up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.



[532] ← Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.

561 The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by
575 setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen.
The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A
796 party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their
432 wives.[1] As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the
[346] hunt continues until the required number is secured.

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[1] For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

A.[See Category 116. p.414--Analyst]

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over 561 with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.[1] In the meantime, the 575 wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives 796 of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of 432 clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and waits. [302] Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close [203] indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled [276] with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. Vestem [831] mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta suit.[A] The father places a piece of prairie- [824] turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

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[1] In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.

A. [See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

18: Wissler E-5 (1903-1912) 1913
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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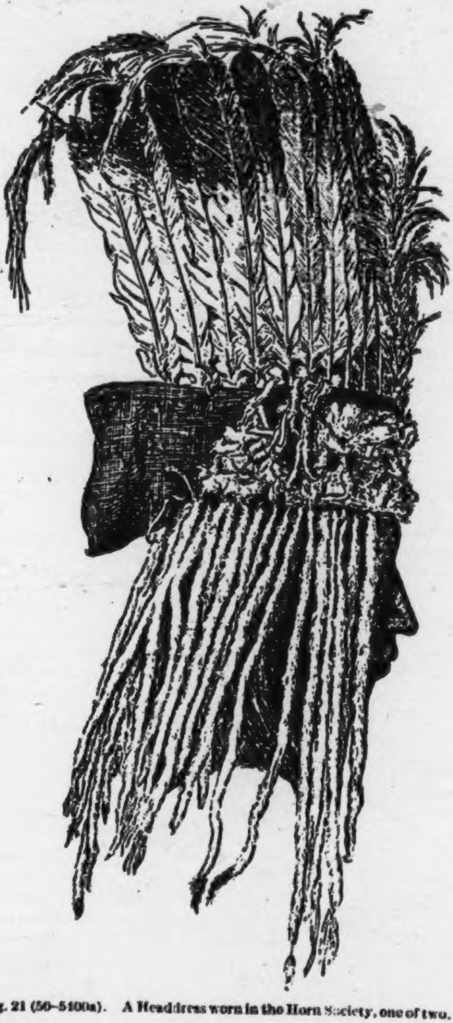

Fig. 21 (50-5100a). A Headdress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus 561
suis in humeros muleris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut mem- 575
brum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.[A]

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again 796
to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in 432
sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram [831]
partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit.[B] As he does so the father spits into the
woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his [833]
tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place.
There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is [824]
announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her.

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening.

[276]

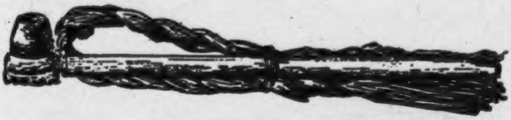

Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon
travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must [261]
fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After
camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes [302]
up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle.

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is
painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side [302]
is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting.

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries [252]
and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives.

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete
the ceremony. Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut antea, sic mulier nunc decumbit; [833]

A,B.[See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

561
575 vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidiui dat
796 laxas habenas.A Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous
432 of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

[833]
561 The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

575 A—— is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that
[114] his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house
began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining
[115] food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in.
[784] He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have
circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he
[302] refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meet-
[237] ing place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked
around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

[784] It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two mem-
bers fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the
[789] power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he
rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted.
Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used
[754] the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between
some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in
the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick,
[784] paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns
were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said
anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is
dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

561 Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society,
575 had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out,"
796 the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening
for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns
432 are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey:
[784] should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader, seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man
[431] to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the
woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it
only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar
manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head,"
and her husband can say nothing.

[302] In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and
wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father

A.[See p. 416-A for a translation--Analyst]

000 [A very free translation has been made by HRAF of the passages in Latin on pages 413, 415 and 416. The translation has been complicated by apparent misprints in the Latin text and the use of words not found in any Latin dictionary available to the translator. Therefore, the researcher is advised to use these translations with extreme caution.]

561 Page 413.

575 The woman folds her clothing in such a manner that the genitals
● 796 alone are uncovered.
432

[831] Page 415:

The father approaches the feet of the woman again and bends over them. Then, having placed his hands on the shoulders (?) [831] [lumeros=humeros(?)] of the woman, he places his knees at her thighs and does thus so that he touches his male (?) [visile=virile(?)] member to her vulva: that done he gets up to his feet.

[833] First, the man bends his fingers in the shape(?) [formana] of a horn: then, having moved one thigh over to the left side, he bellows like a bison; finally, having moved the other thigh to the right side, he commences to have carnal connection with the woman.

[833] The woman is marched out with the man. Just as (??) [autra], thus the woman now lies down; [416] the man, on the other hand, places the pipe(?) [pipam] near the head of the woman, moreover, having taken off (?) [alrepta] his tunic, gives full rein to his passion (?) [libidiui].

takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, 561 he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

575 The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the 796 meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like 432 scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name of the husband after which the woman enters and spits [784] the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

[558] Some of the women are refused by the fathers, because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted.

561 575 796 531 237 532 → Our informant never went through this painting ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying that she came to be painted. He told her that he could not because he had not received the necessary instructions. She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man.

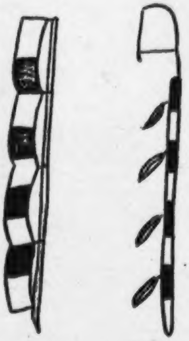

Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant. 561 575 796 [292] [302]

The writer has a statement from Strangling-wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of several different forms. The lances, however, are the main objects. They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. [237] Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, [824] because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These [782] are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19).A These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are [782] offered and some tobacco left at the stump.[1] The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, [531] after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

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[1] Fist-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox. [784]

A. [See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

561 The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be
575 formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The
561 drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise,
575 except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter
go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe
● 796 as if driving buffalo.

535 Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the
bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow
him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave
him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves
and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through
the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers
to pass, ending the dance."

[782] When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide
bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

561 A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet
575 the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once
[532] when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over
[784] the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law
taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

[606] The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over
[431] all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result
[754] can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement
561 that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their
575 rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the
173 bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called
attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies
and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical
origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not
figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that
this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox.
On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the
[554] differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also
account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

561 On the other hand, we find
575 a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency
184 to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them
again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in
[178] organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other
two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down
of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (aiksi'naki), raven-bearers (máesto^{x}pátakiks), dogs (imitaika), horns (i'tskinai), catchers (ii'nika), bulls (sta'meksia pa'skan), and kit-fox (senopa'pasken) were similar to those of the other divisions.

561 As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the
575 Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies
173 we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

THE MOSQUITOES.

561 The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the
575 regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four
● 796 old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony
[346] they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi,
sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used
instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the
camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

THE BEES.

561 The society of the bees (namó), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi
575 many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mos-
[173] quitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of
unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band
[302] of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the
[292] abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of
robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue
[531] and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5,
[237] 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of
[422] weasel skin at the back of the head.

[531] A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end,
[237] wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe 561
of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the 575
staff is called the bee lodge.) [237]

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse
stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, [531]
and breech cloths. [302]

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured
by a buckskin thong. [292]

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, [237]
the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing
out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums 561

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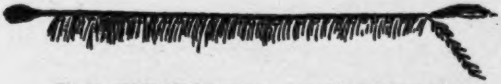

Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant. [531]

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he [532]
rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by [346]
combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and 561
follow. 575

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. [173]
This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as a rival organization.

THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken
society (ke'tuki iks) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders [422]
who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society [346]

561 meets, the tipis of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two
575 old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members
[346] but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.

[302] The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in
length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feath-
561 ers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers
575 laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers
796 in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one
[531]
[237]

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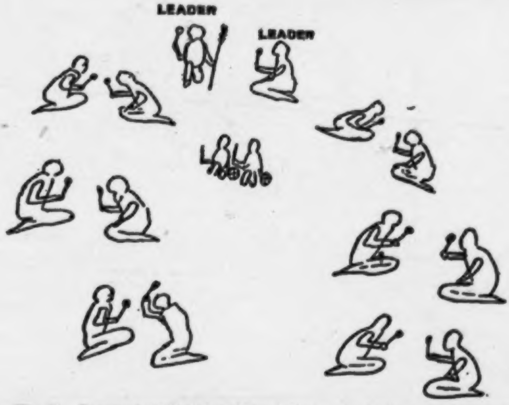

Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

561 erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping
575 of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders
796 jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.

[531] In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The
[237] members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle.
[535] The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean
forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The
two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return
change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their
heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four
times as stated above.

561 According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father
575 was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The
173

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his 561
boyhood. 575
The origin myth is as follows:— 173

Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."

The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty- 561
one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased 575
to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot [787]
boy. It should not be confused with the ma'esto^{x}pa'takiks (raven-bearers).
The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All 561
carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black 575
symbols representing crow's feet. 796

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance [292]
circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the [237]
head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The [302]
dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows. [535]

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a [534]
crow.

THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, [302]
in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is ma'tse.

THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died 561
and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were 575
[787]

561 dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which
575 he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and after-
[777] ward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs
561 throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi.
575 One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume
796 is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of
[292] smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material.
White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an
[302] outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

[535] There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head
and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold
[534] whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is paˣka'potskinaiye.

THE BRAVES.

[184] The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society
among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

> [292] The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

SUMMARY.

561 In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot
575 divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men.
184 The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most
cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MA'TOKI.

575 Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's
society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organization among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may
be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo
575 dance" is current.[1] The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maxi-
796 milian's brief account:—

> The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine
> 535 feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden
> [346] hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear
> [292] a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with
> the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last
> [534] day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men, the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours, and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then as is the practice in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows, as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge which concludes the festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer when the fancy takes them.[2]

575 From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—

> 796 The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their
> 346 ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers, At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.
>
> [422] The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart.
>
> When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

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[1] See McClintock, 450.

Maximilian, 112, 115

There are six men attached to the society, but all the other members are women. 575
Four of these do the singing. The remaining pair act as messengers and attendants. 796 ●
The women are organized as follows: —

- The snake bonnets (6)
- The scabby bulls (4)
- The buffalo wool bonnets(×)
- The feather bonnets (×)

The tipi pole owner is one of the snake bonnets. Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep, they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given

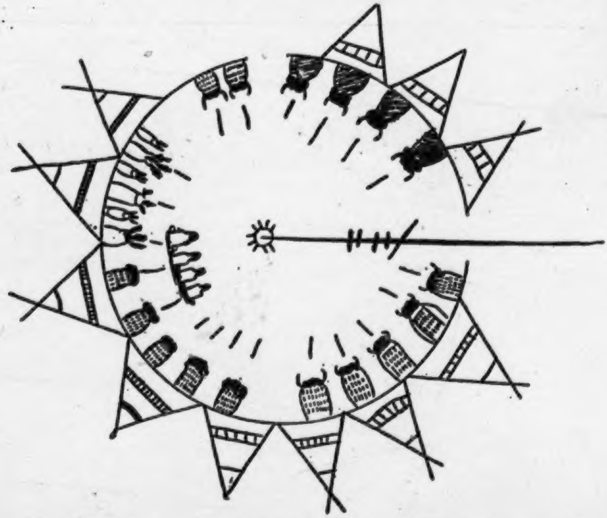

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Fig. 26. Diagram showing the Ceremony of the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. The top of the sketch is north. The positions of the two doors are shown; to the west of the center pole sit the four male singers; behind these to the north are the six snake-headdress members, to the south the five feather-headdress members; south of the east door sit the buffalo-wool headdress members; to the north the four scabby bulls; the marks above the heads of members indicate sticks for supporting the headdresses when not in use. The triangular figures outside represent travois.

them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge altar before her seat. For these the grass is cleared from a small oblong. Along the sides next to the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Sweet-grass is used for the smudge. The headdresses must always be smudged four times before they are placed on the head. 575 796

575 During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with
796 them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The
[782] faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead
and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the
[302] center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

[346] The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the southeast.
In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four
[534] singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle
(Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

[535] All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they
blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the
four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a
turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her
[292] person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake
[237] bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes
its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is
[531] painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is
a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers.
They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of
small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby
[535] bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in
single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to
the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next
the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way.
Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

[782] It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year,
if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At
various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some
tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances.
Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the
pledger.

796 On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession
575 and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in
535 the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place
designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

796 Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually
575 all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and
432

nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at 796
any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire
night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and 575
act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bundles 432
and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The [424]
most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a proportionate amount of other property are required.

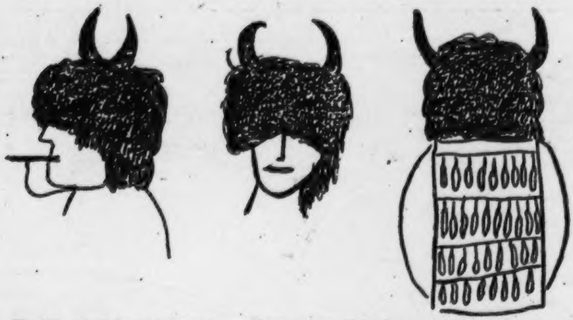

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Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes 796
on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she displaces. 575
In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, 432
her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother. Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The [302]
mother then paints the daughter's face.[1]

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[1] The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

796 575 432 302 Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth. Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously mentioned.

796 575 [561] It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the ma'toki consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 10.)A

The ma'toki, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

> [782] The ma'toki meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed. When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the ma'toki go about from tipi to tipi collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.
>
> [432] During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B; then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the ma'toki ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

> [346] In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the ma'toki were busy constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

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[796] [575] [432] dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a ma'toki. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I asked them about this, and she said that she was a ma'toki, that her husband was not, and that she had nothing to do with the horns.

A,[See Category 116, p. 411--Analyst]

with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center 575
pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, 796
two rows deep.

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June [346]
19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back,
but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating
their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically [535]
opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after
another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand
rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses.
These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed
motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the
center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, [534]
carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone
whistles, which were blown at regular intervals.

He brought it from the Crow where he lived some twelve years. He knew that 794
it came from the seven stars. The Crow gave him some seeds of a small plant with a [177]
song, which gave him a membership. After a time he dreamed of six dwarfs and they
gave him power to get horses, property, food, and long life. Since that time he has [787]
always had abundance. When he came back to the Piegan, he sold or transferred
to Curly-bear some of his power and since that time the latter has prospered. He [432]
claims that all of the members are prosperous. When a member is taken in he is
given the skin of an otter, blackbird, weasel, beaver, or something with a song. [237]
These songs must have been dreamed by some of the members. Women can be
taken in alone, but if married, both husband and wife must join; likewise when a
man joins, his wife must enter. A man joins by calling upon a member, making [432]
him gifts and asking him for some of the Crow-water power. These gifts are supposed
to be many quilts, horses, etc. Each member gives him some object and an associated [424]
song.

The members receiving the gifts must divide them among other members as far 794
as they will go, one thing for each. Each one receiving a horse must contribute
some object, a song and some power, the others are free to choose. Thus, the highest 432
price paid for membership brings the most medicines. The objects are placed in a 424
bundle which becomes the new member's individual medicine. They are not treated 422
as most medicine bundles, but may be opened at any time.

In the ceremonies the women usually do the dancing. The men seldom dance 794
but do the singing. The women do not sing when they are dancing. There are no
regular times for meetings, but it is usual to hold them every Sunday and at the time 796
of the new moon. Ceremonies are held in compliance with vows of outsiders or
members as with other medicines, but they may meet on any occasion. The number
of members is not limited in any way. None of the proceedings are secret. Everybody may look in, but only members can come inside of the tipi or ceremonial circle.

The members usually paint their faces yellow, with red bars across the mouth [302]
and forehead. A rectangle of red is also made upon the backs of the hands. A few
plumes and feathers are worn on the head. There are no other regalia, the chief [292]
things being the individual bundles of the members.

The taboos observed by bundle owners are also in evidence. Neither marrow 794
nor bones may be placed in the fire or the owner's horse will have his leg broken.
Lodge pins must not be put in the fire or the owner will have a tumor (?); nor must 784
iron be put in the fire and allowed to become red hot, or the owner's teeth will fall 751
out. If lodge poles are burnt up, horses will die. The owner must not touch moccasins while smoking; he will have a scabby mouth. Moccasins placed under the bed will bring bad luck. When dancing and smoking, if one should pass in front of him, the smoker goes blind. He must not lend a blanket to another as this will bring bad results.

The medicine formula or power may be used as follows: — If a member wishes a 794
horse, he calls in other members and sings the songs and offers prayers. It is believed
that one so doing will soon be called upon for some service and receive a horse as a 789
fee. Other wishes may be gratified in the same way. An outsider desiring anything may formally announce that he provides food and presents for a meeting. Then members assemble and hold a meeting. This is usual in sickness. Vows to provide the feast may be made as in case of medicine bundles.[1]

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[1] Vol. 7, 148, 172.

794 796 [756] The following account is by Owl-top, an active member of this society:

The dance may be given at any time. Sometimes when a person has made a vow to give a feast because of someone who is sick the members, who are notified, pray for the sick person. As soon as he recovers, the person who made the vow makes a berry soup and goes to one of the members and tells him to have the dance. In entering the place where the ceremony is to be held, the members pass around the left of the fire to the right and take their seats. They must not pass in front of those who are already seated, but behind them. When seated the members place their bundles in front of them. In leaving the dance tipi there is no rule, the members may go out in any manner they wish.

The man who cares for the pipe, furnishes the tobacco, and tends to the fire, is seated at the left of the fire in front of the other members. Sometimes he also heats the skin on the drums, if it should loosen, in order that the drums should give a better sound when the skin is stretched. No one must ever pass in front of this man. The pipe is passed from right to left in smoking. As each man has his bundle lying in front of him a smudge is made, and after the bundle has been held over the sweetgrass smudge, it is unwrapped and the first person at the left sings to the accompaniment of six or eight drums.

The women are seated on the left and they rise and dance, the person leading in the song signalling with the skin or bird he holds, while the women imitate his movements. Each man sings all of his songs, the others joining him. After each man has sung his songs the dance ends. The men may dance if they wish to do so.

The person who makes the vow gives one of the members a horse and clothing, as well as the food. These gifts are divided among the members. Even if a man has purchased membership, his fees are divided among all the members.

When it is time for the feast, a smudge is made on the southeast of the fireplace and the pot of berries held over it, set down on the smudge and then placed near The person who made the vow passes the food and just before eating each one takes up a berry and holding it up, prays. Then they all hold up the dishes with the food a little above their heads, set them down, and begin to eat. The members usually pray for the sick person for whom the vow was made. Formerly, only members were given food and allowed to witness the dance but now all onlookers are given food. During the dance they pray for health and happiness. Anyone of the members, when he wishes to do so, may give the dance.

794 [782] [431] If a member should be a guest anywhere and be offered a pipe, he must always blow some of the smoke toward any medicine bundle that may be hanging up. If one member visit another, the host must always give his visitor a present of some sort. If he was nothing to give he will give a song. This refers only to those living some distance from each other.

794 432 [424] If anyone wishes to buy into the society, he fills a pipe and offers it to one of the members, at the same time asking him for some of his medicine objects. The member calls on the person from whom he bought the object to assist him. If the purchaser has a wife, she is also made a member.

First, the three men go through the sweat house ceremony. Then they go to the seller's house.

The new member calls the seller his father, and the man from whom his father bought, his grandfather. The father has no authority in the transfer, the grandfather doing everything. After the sweat house ceremony the new member and his

The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize 794
the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the 224
feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit 789
ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual [237]
bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic 794
power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection 828
of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who
came under the power of these songs.[1] Thus, it is said that a member painting
his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can
hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden
upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the
subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a 794
black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a [171]
comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and [432]
bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations.

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a [115]
mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

> The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do [173]
> not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have
> the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman [828]
> member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought
> from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs [424]
> are dreamed.
>
> The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes 794
> it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes
> given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game 796
> will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About [789]
> midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers
> pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to [755]
> show their respect to the rest of the dancers.
>
> At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of 794
> the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands 796
> near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his 535
> mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements.
> The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members [788]
> stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays.
> Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following [782]
> him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays,
> and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

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[1] Vol. 2, 159.

794 through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to
796 keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No
drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during
535 the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

[534] Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all
undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given
[828] them power or songs in their dreams.

[789] The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

794 A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time,
173 while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He supported
himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and
787 said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you.
I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it.
Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top,
you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When
we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will
give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you
see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook
them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out
of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the
two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as
I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That
night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

794 Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game
[224] will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both
hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin
[789] in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has
[796] songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer
claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and
[237] deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently
[824] used for the smudge than sweetgrasss. The members paint in
[302] red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When
794 game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give
789 the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food,
224 nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that
[784] these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game.
When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth
about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper
back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the
fireplace.

794 ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this
769 man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again
and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of
773 the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about
173 to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After
539 some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to
the people.

794 The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and
769 exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and
302 each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

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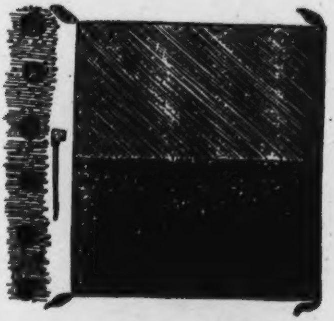

Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

794 There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there
769 any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and
[292] songs. Women dance with the men.

[796] A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to
provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized
794 good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the
769 name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a
796 yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great
535 abundance of food is expected.

[789] The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end.
At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-
[302] brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to
[778]

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the 794
leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing 769
is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist 796
of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then 535
all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits
down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making
movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they
rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No [784]
dead person should be designated by name. [551]

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did
not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with [789]
ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name kanochisisin, or all- 794
smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group
ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems [424]
to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic
things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased [432]
with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine [554]
coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are
called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned
and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow 794
or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. 796
He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking 554
ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a
quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is
used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the
rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The
process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have
owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

> When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his 794
> tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is 796
> paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues,
> cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said [782]

794 and a smudge made. The tongues are boiled all day and in the evening added to the
796 berries and blood. During the day, a stick to which is fastened some sage grass at
either end and calico or a piece of skin at the middle, is tied to a tipi pole as an offer-
782 ing to the sun.

788 The leader takes his place at the rear of the tipi to the left. A young single man is called upon to tend the smudge, light the pipes, cook the soup, etc. In payment, prayers are said for him. The pipes are lighted with four service berry sticks about a foot and a half or two feet in length, which are lighted in the fire.

The smudge place is not cut out but white earth is spread over an irregular surface. Four buffalo dungs are placed on the west side with sage grass on top of them and at the right is placed the smudge stick. In the center is placed a buffalo dung on which the smudge of sweetgrass is made.

Four undecorated black pipes are used. No metal may be used on the pipes. The man who gives the feast fills the pipes while the assistant lights and passes them. Four rattles, similar to those in the beaver bundle ceremony are used. The guests sing the songs of the different medicines owned by them. In all each one must sing sixteen songs, four at a time. Anyone who has owned the medicine-pipe may sing four of the medicine-pipe songs; as many of the beaver bundle songs as one wishes to sing may be sung; but of other medicines, only one song may be sung. One song is allowed from each of the societies. The man sitting on the south side of the tipi starts the singing and is followed by the one on his left, and so on. One of the rattles is used by the person singing while the other three are used by the three people next to him to his left. Before singing, a smudge is made, he tells of what object he is going to sing, the amount paid for it, and a short prayer is said. When a man owns no bundle and has no song to sing, he merely passes the rattles to the next person. When medicine-pipe men join in the ceremony they bring with them their own utensils, sweet-pine needles for the smudge, etc. During the feast they are served first. When the owner of the smoking-otter joins he is given a place near the smudge place, opposite the leader; the medicine-pipe man is seated to his left. While the smoking-otter owner smokes, sleigh bells are shaken four times and everyone must desist from touching his moccasins. The smoking-otter owner uses juniper for his smudge. At the beginning of the ceremony the iniskim songs are sung.

The man who made the vow goes out to bring in the sun offering, making four stops in his circuit around the tipi. It is spread out and the moon and sun dogs painted in the center in black. On it is placed the tobacco board. The leader rubs the board, steel, and knife with sage grass. He brushes the right side of his head, his shoulder, and his arm, and then the left side with the sage grass. The same movements are repeated by all the men in turn. While the man who made the vow holds the tobacco and knife to cut it, the leader holds his wrists, and another man counts four war deeds. Meanwhile the leader motions as if to cut the tobacco. The leader paints the face of the man who made the vow and his family, with red paint, a black stripe around the face, and a dot on the bridge of the nose. He cuts the tobacco, fills a small pipe, and hands it to the leader who holds the stem or mouthpiece over the smudge and then the bowl, twice for each. Prayers are said to the sun, telling of the offering made, and asking for mercy for the man who gave the feast. The moon, stars, earth and all the animals are also appealed to and then the pipe is passed around for everyone to smoke.

The four rattles are held in the smudge, four times, and shaken, between each time. Then the singing commences and continues until each man has sung sixteen.

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering 794
and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco 796
give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends.

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to 788
the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before 782
he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to
some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of
the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he
prays.

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other
place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a [432]
ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a
ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the
sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun.

THE STICK GAME DANCE.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring 796
tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall [177]
during the winter of 1910-1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe.
He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several
ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a [178]
previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and devel-
oped. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual oppor- [121]
tunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual [177]
is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have
originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them.
As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot [121]
to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is
"medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a [432]
game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed
is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact [424]
that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot [422]
conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a pre-
sumptive right to the songs.

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned 778
one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was 524

778 conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already
524 changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing
[422] are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person
winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but
[432] in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in
[302] the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though
[424] the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and
[784] without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating
women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

778 In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It
524 contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of
each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and
237 were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers.
531 There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a
few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are
four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small
wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel
[824] used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the
smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

796 The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it
524 prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot
deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a
[778] feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time
after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies
[782] are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When
all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or
[755] house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes
out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one
[302] side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then
prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a
red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in
the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing
[533] sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the
game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that

eight games are to be played after which food is served. The two last guessers are 796
required to pass the food.

Before Fish dreamed the stick game, Big-spring gave him a set as a present. 524
After dreaming, Fish gave the first bundle to The-dog-takes-the-gun. The three [173]
men are related and for this reason pass the stick game bundle from one to the other.

Fish dreamed of a man who came to give him the stick game bundle. The 524
dream person carried the bundle on his left arm. His face was painted yellow and 778
dotted all over. In his hair was tied an owl feather. Now, one of the guessers ties
an owl feather in his hair when the game is played. Fish claims the stick game [787]
bundle to be very powerful. If a person be sick he may vow to play with the stick [237]
game owner in order that he may recover. When the game is played, the bundle
owner paints and prays for the person with whom he is to play. On the other hand, [755]
the game must not necessarily be played when anyone is ill but can be played at any time.

Each stick is decorated with a six-inch owl feather. Two guessing sticks are [237]
wrapped with otter fur and decorated with bells. At each end is a tail-feather used
in guessing. One of the guessing sticks is painted red, the other yellow. Fish only [531]
dreamed one song for the bundle but the rest of the stick game songs go with it.
The same songs are used for the three stick game bundles on the reservation. There [533]
are some twenty of these and ten tapping-the-stick songs. The songs are sung at the beginning of the game, or when either side wins. Four or more cheering songs are sung when dancing after one side has won the game.

When any member of a family is ill, the head of the family may vow to give a 796
feast to the stick game owners so that the sick person may recover. The game takes
place at his home. The owner of the stick game bundle sits at the head of the assembly. 524
There are four or five drummers and four of the tapping-the-stick songs are 755
sung. The owner unties the bundle placing ten of the waving sticks, two hiding
bones, and the guessing stick in one pile, and the rest in a second stack. His face is [302]
painted and a cross is marked on his forehead, on either cheek, and each palm. The
players must not cheat during the game. Then he calls on the person giving the feast
to feed him. The stick game owner makes a smudge and prays for the person giving
the feast. He paints him and marks a cross on his forehead, each cheek, and the [302]
palms of his hand. The ten waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick are held over the smudge in one hand by the man giving the feast. The owner rubs the man's head and along his sides, meanwhile praying. He repeats the same evolutions with his wife.

The woman spreads a blanket on the ground on which the game is played. An object beaded in yellow on one side and blue on the other is rolled on the blanket until one color is shown three times. The man chooses the blue, the woman the yellow side. Should the yellow be shown three times the woman will accordingly be the one to guess first and vice versa. The man and woman guessing each represent half of the crowd. Each passes the ten sticks as far as they will go on the side for whom they are playing. To win the game one side must obtain all the twenty sticks. During all these preliminaries the tapping-the-stick songs are sung.

In the beginning, two persons are selected to hide the bones. The two (?) who are to play sit in the center facing each other, first passing around the stove or fire as the case may be, the man around the right, the woman the left. Then the stick game songs are sung. Four of the crowd of men, women, and children are selected to play. The man and woman who are to guess pass around the players to the right

796 and left, respectively. Standing in front of the players, the woman guesses first,
524 throwing the guessing sticks up and down and watching the eagle feather at the end,
755 guessing according to the feather on the stick. The man then guesses for the players
on the woman's side and if he should guess both, the woman returns the hiding bones to the man's players and the game is played over again. While playing they are very noisy and boisterous. This continues until either side has collected the twenty sticks, making the game.

The winners then rise and dance, singing the cheering songs, while the ones who lost remain seated. Between games there is a resting period, when the tapping-the-stick songs are sung while men and boys drum. Four games are played in all. After the fourth game there is a feast.

If a visitor from another tribe be present, the guesser may give a present to the visitor. If a guesser loses a game, he may choose anyone from among the crowd and give him his guessing stick. Everyone losing a game does this. The stick game owner and all the others dress in their ordinary costume, the owner and the man promising to give the feast only having their faces painted as before mentioned. It is said that some of the hand game songs are sung with the others for this game

[173] The stick game dance songs are said to come from the Gros Ventre. Big-spring,
the first owner, never used the bundle. He received it as a present from a Gros
[177] Ventre, then gave it to Fish who dreamed the ritual as stated. Later Fish dreamed
[533] and made up another bundle like the first with the exception of the feathers which
[787] are different. There are three stick game bundles now.

575 proposals for camping sites and routes of travel, and selected
622 two or three of the societies to undertake the various duties
for that season. While these were nominally under the control
of the chiefs their duties were so well known that they generally
acted on their own initiative. The leaders of the chosen
societies pitched their tipis in a group in the centre of the
575 camp circle. The members patrolled the camp in turn during
[625] the night. They punished recalcitrant offenders against public
welfare by beating and destruction of property. Some went
[484] ahead when a march began to select the precise site of the next
camp, while others superintended the column of march. The
[224] societies were also mainly responsible for knowing the position
and movements of the buffalo herds and for organizing the
tribal hunts. In any emergency the chiefs could call upon one
or more of them to deal with the situation. They could not,
[578] however, act until they were called upon to do so. The changing
membership, coupled with the rivalry of one with another and
the short season of their activity, averted any tendency to the
permanent seizure of power by one or all of these societies.

The summer camp was the occasion for great ceremonial
[224] activity. A host of feasts and ceremonies followed the short
period of intensive hunting, in which large stores of food were
575 accumulated. With appropriate ritual and after due payment
778 of hide robes and horses, 'medicine bundles' of magical objects
425 and the formulas necessary for their effective use were often
transferred from one man to another. The societies performed
their special dances and rituals, and if the time for purchase and
transfer of society membership was due, great triple tipis were
built in which the lengthy ceremonies of exchange were held.
● 776 Finally came the great annual ceremony of the Sun Dance at
which individuals and the tribe as a whole sought power and
well-being in a protracted ritual that lasted a week or more.
361 The camp circle broke up shortly after this and the bands
621 moved away in the direction of their winter quarters, which
mostly lay farther to the west in the rougher foothill country.
With the disintegration of the camp there ended also any real
authority of the tribal leaders and councils.

Hides and Skins

237 The buffalo which so dominated the activities of the Blackfoot supplied them with more than meat. Almost every part
[281] of the animal was used. The hide was dressed with the hair
left on to provide heavy winter robes; thinned and with the
hair removed, it was the material for shirts, leggings, moccasins,
tent covers, bags and receptacles of every kind. Cut into
strips it furnished ropes and lines. The hair was used to stuff
[531] pillows and later saddles, and to decorate garments, shields
and quivers.

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

765 When my grandma was about a year or two old, Heavy
796 Head became one of the last Bloods to go through the ancient
ritual of self-torture. He had gone to raid horses from an
[782] enemy tribe and gotten into a tough situation. In order to
get help and courage, he made a vow to go through this ritual
at the next Sun Dance ceremony, which is the main tribal
event in our traditional life. In front of all the people, his
chest was pierced in two places so that willow skewers could
be inserted. To these were tied two long ropes, which hung
down from the symbolic Center Pole in the sacred Sun Dance
lodge. Heavy Head had to pull these ropes tight and dance
until the skewers broke through his flesh and released him.
The ceremony may sound cruel today, but my ancestors had
a lot of faith and meaning for it in their nature-oriented life.
A couple of years later the ceremony was forbidden by the
government.

756 Heavy Head suffered from his Sun Dance wounds for some
time. He went out into the hills so that he could cry and
787 suffer alone, and out there he was given certain mystical
powers to cure ailments with prayers, songs, and herbs. As
he grew older he became the keeper of various tribal medicine
756 bundles and a member of ancient societies. Among the Bloods
593 a man does all these things in company with his wife—his main
one, if he should have two or more—so my great-grandma,
First-to-Kill, began to learn the songs and ceremonies of our
sacred ways. Her life changed from helping one husband feed
and house wagon-road travelers to helping another husband
doctor the sick people and lead their religious ceremonies when
they were well.

177 Grandma AnadaAki grew up hearing these old songs and
watching the ceremonies. But her mother knew that the mod-
871 ern ways were coming to stay, so she made sure that her
children got themselves educated. Grandma was sent to a
177 special girls' school run by a British matron named Miss
Wells. Unlike the missionary and boarding schools that were

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

871 and later became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police.

796 "I remember well the event we call the Riot Sun Dance. It happened around 1890, about the same time that old Heavy Head was one of the last to go through the Torture Dance. I was sitting inside the sacred medicine lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe. He was one of the medicine men, and people would come up to him bringing filled pipes and cloth offerings that they wanted him to bless. He would pray for them and paint their faces. By that time he was quite old and feeble.

"The trouble started when the Mounties came into the medicine lodge to arrest some young men for taking scalps and horses on a war raid. By that time the treaty forbade it, and the Mounties had threatened to arrest those who broke the law. Of course, no one thought they would come into the holy lodge and try to arrest people while they were praying and celebrating, but that's what they did. All the people got scared because it looked like there might be some shooting right inside the medicine lodge. The warriors were telling their war stories, and they were all carrying guns. There was a rush for people to leave the lodge. I went over and led my grandpa from the lodge and over to his tipi. A lot of people headed home after that and the Sun Dance broke up, even though there was no more trouble and the wanted men got away."

797 Rosie Davis became a "Miss Wells girl" in school, like my own grandmother. As a result, she, too, speaks with a slight British accent and likes to wear brooches. Also, she is remembered as an energetic housewife and partner of a progressive and successful ranch family. She spent most of her life married to Charlie Davis, who was also the child of a Blood mother and a white father. In fact, his father was the first government representative for the Northwest Territories, and

593 My husband used to get mad at me for crumbs of bread that
used to be all over the bed.

THE HOLY WOMEN AMONG MY GRANDMOTHERS

771 All of my traditional grandmothers prayed a lot and believed
in their religion. To me they were all holy women,
793 living a sacred way of life. But there were special ones among
them who were revered by the rest of the tribe as holy women.
796 These were the sponsors of the Sun Dance, or medicine lodge
ceremonies. That is the highest religious event among my people,
and it is always sponsored by a noble woman who has
been true to her husband and otherwise upstanding in life.
This fact, by itself, has long helped women to have a special
standing.in our tribe.

778 The legend of the medicine lodge ceremony has been
handed down from our long-ago ancestors. Even today most
of our people know at least some parts of it. I have heard
long versions told by several of my elders. This legend is perhaps
comparable to the story of Christmas among Christians.
It tells our people that Sun is the main representative of the
Creator. It also tells how some of our long-ago ancestors were
[771] taken up to Sun to bring back blessings for our people. Much
of our religion centers around the wonderful stories and ceremonies
796 that were brought back from Sun. Each holy woman
who has sponsored a Sun Dance has represented one of the
793 legendary messengers from Sun. Thus the holy women are also
known as Sun Women, and the holy lodges they build are
also known as Sun Lodges. All the people gather to help
build these lodges, in the middle of summer, when Sun is
[361] closest to our country. In the old days this was about the
only time in the year that all the bands of the tribe assembled
in one place, together. Everyone could go before the

796 holy woman, inside the Sun Lodge, to receive some of the 793 blessings sent down from Sun by the woman whom each holy woman has represented.

There are still several holy women among the divisions of 796 the Blackfoot Confederacy, although the medicine lodge ceremony [793] is not held every year anymore. Among the Bloods there was a ten-year period without a Sun Lodge, and among the North Piegans the time without one was over twenty [186] years. But with the cultural and spiritual reawakening of recent years there have been several medicine lodges put up, so that the younger generations again have this powerful spiritual drama to look forward to.

793 Two of the oldest holy women in recent years happen to be among my grandmothers and I consider my relationships with them to have been a lifetime blessing. In addition, several of my long-ago grandmothers also put up Sun Lodges, though I imagine all the young people in our tribes have such grand- [186] mothers, if they only knew about them. Such knowledge helps us to find pride in our ancestry.

One of the two old holy women that I've known was SeseenAki, or Mrs. Many-Guns, of the North Piegans. She was around one hundred years old when she passed away, just lately. For many years she was blind and unable to put up any more Sun Dances. But she always came to the ceremonies and gave her blessings through prayers, songs, and her knowledge. It was very moving to hear her praying for everyone, and saying that all the people were her relations. Like many elders, she believed very strongly in a love for all mankind.

For many years old SeseenAki was the only holy woman among the North Piegan people. But the year before her passing she helped to initiate Josephine Crow Shoe in this very sacred duty, so that now a younger woman can take her place. For more than twenty years Josephine and her husband,

SOME THOUGHTS FROM THE HOLY WOMAN MRS. RIDES-AT-THE-DOOR

755 Yellow-Buffalo-Stone Woman was the first one to initiate me for the Okan, or medicine lodge ceremony. That was about forty years ago, when I was still having children. I made my first vow for my daughter, who was in the hospital and just about died. I was there with her, and the nurses said that she was dead. They started to cover her, but my old mother and I wouldn't let them. Instead, we began to doctor her in our Indian way, and we revived her. The nurses were Catholic nuns, and they just stood and watched. If one of them had revived my daughter's life in that way, I think they would have written about it in the newspapers.

796 My mother sponsored Sun Dances also. I grew up with
that kind of life because she kept me close to her. That first
793 time I vowed the Sun Dance I said I would fast for four days.
[262] That is the old way. At later Sun Dances they told me I would
[178] only have to fast for two days. Things have changed.

They made me chew tobacco. Yellow-Buffalo-Stone Woman
793 had a lot of power for putting up Sun Dances, and she was
276 famous for her ceremonial knowledge. She would break off a piece of twist tobacco and put it in my mouth and tell me to chew on it to keep from being thirsty and hungry. She would just give me a handkerchief and tell me to spit the tobacco on it. She warned me not to swallow my saliva.

793 I was very young when I first started with this holy business, and now I am an old woman, on account of it. It has been a very trying life, especially during the medicine lodge ceremonies. Sometimes when I had to go out during the four days of rituals my assistants would have to hold me up, I would be so weak. I have always been devoted to my religious duties to help my family and people. All the younger people are like my children.

793 Three times I put up a lodge for White-Shield Woman. I 796 initiated her each time, and she wore my Natoas headdress, from the sacred bundle that hangs over my bed. Twice my 425 sister transferred the sacred ceremony and twice I transferred it on my own, and once I transferred with my brother as a partner. That was after my husband died. Of course, while he was living he was my partner for the Sun Dances. Twice I have transferred the ceremony with Mrs. Many-Guns, both times to women of the South Piegans, in Montana [the Blackfeet]. I have transferred it three more times just in the past couple of years, and I may transfer it again in the future, if someone makes the vow.

824 Some of my grandchildren say that they don't like the smell of my sweet pine incense. They tell me: "Why did you put sweet pine among our clothes? They smell strange and holy." I guess other kids in school make fun of them, although we 303 were proud to smell that way when we were youngsters. In those days we used sweet pine as a perfume. Those are the same sweet pine needles that we use to make incense for medicine pipe bundles. We also make a perfume from flowers called Gros-Ventre Scent, because they are favorites of the Gros Ventre Indians. We used to crush those flowers and mix them with sweet pine needles and some bits of cottonwood punk, and we made a really fragrant perfume that we tied up 302 in little bags. My husband used to perfume his pillow and the things he slept in. When he died I put a lot of this perfume in his coffin and in his blanket that he was wrapped in. Now, sometimes when we are sitting around at home, we get whiffs of that perfume from out of nowhere. I always tell my grandchildren: "That must be him coming around me."

One time I went to mourn for one of my relatives that had died. My children brought me to the relative's home, and some other grandchildren took me home later. On the way home the girls said: "Let's put some perfume on our grandmother," and they started putting store perfume on me. I thought to myself:

778 301 them when you are going to transfer the medicine pipe." And that is what we did, and now I am still wearing my shell necklace every day. It helps me to grow old.

778 796 I will give you an example of how much you have to sacrifice to follow our Indian religion. The medicine pipe bundle was transferred to us in a house. It happened during the winter. When the ceremony of transfer was over, and the many horses and blankets had been paid to the former owners, my father told Firemaker: "Please initiate my daughter to carry the bundle on her back. She may have that need sometime in the future." We could not do anything with the bundle until we were initiated. Firemaker went through the proper ceremony, and they put the bundle on my back, with the heavy straps over my shoulders. My father brought a good team of horses to the door for Firemaker, just to pay him for this one particular initiation.

I have had a beaver bundle for many years. It is the biggest medicine bundle of all the ones among our people. There is a very long ceremony for its opening, and they used to sing several hundred songs during it. The men and the women all join together to sing these songs and to dance with the different parts of the bundle. We imitate the bird and animal skins in them. We used to have a really happy time with this beaver ceremony, but now there is no one left who can lead it. I guess I have the last beaver bundle among the Bloods.

207 533 These things-that-sing [Blackfoot for radios and record players], I dislike them very much. When they are shut off I can still hear them going in my head. Sometimes when I'm in my room, praying, I feel like I'm trying to outdo those things. My daughter gets up and shuts it off and tells the kids around the house: "When your grandmother is praying you don't want to drown her words with your music." Then they listen, and I can hear myself.

562 575 My daughter that nearly died—the one I put up my first Sun Dance for—she was also a member of the Horns Society.

582 I lost my first teeth. I have never cared for any other man, nor did I have a secret lover.

657 "My father was Black-Snake Man. He was head chief of the tribe many years ago. I remember when he first told our people they were going to get food from the government. At that time were were camped at the place where the Yellowstone River flows into the Missouri. Then many Indians were starving because the buffalo had disappeared.

796 "During my life I have given three Sun Dance ceremonies.
782 I gave my first Sun Dance because of a battle with the Assiniboines. I made a vow in order that Sun might keep some of my relatives from being injured in the fight. I gave my second to fulfill a vow by my son Cross Guns. He made it in battle when surrounded by enemies. Cross Guns escaped and came home. When I saw him I ran out to meet him. He kissed me and said: 'Mother, I have made a lot of trouble for you. In a fight with the Crows I was surrounded and thought I was going to be killed. I made a vow to Sun. I promised that if I came through alive you would make a Medicine Lodge. I know this means suffering for you—to starve yourself and become thin and weak.' But I was glad. Quickly I made my vow, and I kept praying day and night until I performed the ceremony.

778 "I was fourteen years old when I learned about the medicine pipes. One day White Calf had visitors in our tipi. He
425 ran short of tobacco and asked me to borrow some from his friend Four Bears, the famous medicine man. When I came to the lodge of Four Bears I found it very crowded inside. I wondered what was going on, but had no idea that it was a medicine pipe ceremony. I stood in the doorway and asked Four Bears for the tobacco. He said he had none. I started to go away, but Four Bears called me back. He left his seat at the back of the tipi and took some tobacco from a bundle hanging over the doorway. It was a medicine pipe bundle. He burned incense and held the tobacco over it, then he made

a prayer. He said to me: 'Here is some tobacco. I give it to you 778 along with the sacred bundle that hangs over the door. From 425 it you can take tobacco whenever you want.'

"I felt proud of his having given such a fine present. I hurriedly took the tobacco to White Calf and gave him the message. He looked at me strangely (because taking the medicine pipe meant much expense and responsibility, but he was obligated to go ahead because of the way it had been presented to him) and said: 'Go back to Four Bears and tell him: White Calf made a vow in his youth, that if anyone ever offered him a medicine pipe he would take it.'

"I told Four Bears what White Calf had said, and he right away got a party of men and marched to our tipi with the bundle, singing, drumming, and rattling. Four of them put a robe around White Calf and carried him back to the tipi of Four Bears. There they had the transfer ceremony for the bundle.

"Shortly after this ceremony five Gros Ventres attacked our 721 camp and took some horses. White Calf followed them with a band of our warriors and they killed all of them. He took their scalps and we had a Scalp Dance with them. That was a good sign for us."

LEGENDS OF THE SUN DANCE

I have never heard a detailed description of how the medi- 773 cine lodge ceremony first got started among my ancestors. 796 There is an ancient legend about a boy named Scarface, who is said to have brought back the directions for building the actual holy lodge from Sun. Scarface went on a mystical journey to Sun in order to find help in having an ugly scar removed from his face, so that the pretty girl he loved would marry him. Sun removed the scar, gave the boy some great power, and told him to build a copy of his own lodge, Sun's

773 lodge, among his people. Anthropologists say that my ancestors got the Sun Dance from tribes to the south, who originally got it from the Aztecs of Mexico.
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[177] There are several legends that include accounts of the origins of various parts of the Sun Dance ceremony. After Scarface told the people about building the holy lodge, another young man was given instructions to have all the virtuous women assemble by this lodge and confess the times in their life when they were approached by men other than their husbands. They had to give the details of each encounter, but if they submitted to any of these approaches, then they were disqualified. Those who did qualify were instructed to help cut the one hundred buffalo tongues that became the tribal Sun Dance sacrament. Any of these women then became eligible to make the vow necessary for each year's medicine lodge ceremony.

HOW THE HOLY WOMAN'S HEADDRESS CAME TO BE

793 It is said that these early holy women wore only wreaths of creeping juniper branches on their heads. At that time the ceremony was still quite simple, but later on it became very complex. A major addition to it came with the Natoas, or holy woman's headdress, for which many sacred songs are sung. This is how the origin story for that headdress has been handed down.
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773 There was once a cow elk who left her husband and ran away with another bull. Her husband wanted to have her back, so he went around to different birds and animals and asked them to help. The moose and the raven were the only ones who were willing. Since they were in the thick forest by the mountains, the raven offered to go look first. He flew away and stayed gone for four days before he returned with the news. He said he had found the runaway couple and, with
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headdress, they asked to borrow it for each Sun Dance cere- 773
mony to wear on their own heads. So it came to be that this 539
ceremony was transferred to the Sun Dance women of long 292
ago, who replaced their simple juniper wreaths with this
powerful and sacred headdress. 778

In the old days there were sometimes four or more women
who vowed to build the Sun Dance for the same year, and all 796
of them went through the whole ceremony together. Since 778
each one had a Natoas bundle there were probably as many as ten or twelve of these at a time. Today I know of only one each, among three of our divisions, while the fourth division must borrow one whenever they wish to have a Sun Dance again. Unfortunately, I also know of a half dozen such sacred bundles that are in museums or in the hands of private collectors.

The sacred articles for each Natoas are protected inside of
a sturdy rawhide cylinder, which has painted designs on the (415)
outside, and a row of fringe along one edge. Only two of the sacred articles are kept outside of this bag—a special "turnip-digging stick" and a bunch of moose hooves—and they are tied to the fringe. The rest of the articles are wrapped in cloth inside of the rawhide case. Typical contents include a badger-skin bag for the headdress; weasel, squirrel, and gopher skins for the ceremony; bags of sacred paint, and bags of fat for mixing the paint with; rawhide rattles, and a sheet of rawhide for beating the rattles on; a forked stick for bringing hot coals to the altar, and bags of incense for use on the altar; a special elkhide robe for the holy woman to wear during the Sun Dance; and a tripod to hold up the whole bundle when it hangs outside. Some of the small bags within the bundle also hold necklaces, feathers, and other articles that are used during the bundle's long ceremony.

There is a Natoas bundle opened up and on display in the 778
Museum of the Plains Indian, a government-owned institution
located in Browning, Montana, on the reservation of our

648 outside and surrounded the lodge. The Bloods knew that they
701 were in for trouble. An argument finally erupted, causing all
the Bloods to jump up and aim their guns at the chief. Hate
462 Woman was carrying her six-shooter, which she aimed along with the rest. Then Weasel Tail gave out a mighty roar, to impress the people with his power.

Sliding Down called out to the people, in their own language, that Weasel Tail was a ferocious man who had killed many people with his power, which came from the Grizzly. The people became afraid and rushed away to seek shelter, giving Weasel Tail's party a chance to escape.

726 After this the party split up, Weasel Tail, Hate Woman,
and one other man heading south to try again for Crow
701 horses. On the way they encountered a lone enemy—a Crow
462 man—whom they thought about killing and scalping. But when he came close they saw that he looked very pitiful and they knew that he was mourning. It turned out he had lost his wife and didn't care if he lived or died, so Weasel Tail made a prayer to Sun, asking for future pity for himself, and he let the man go. He and his wife met the same man again, in 1926, during an Indian celebration.

The three made their way back to the Crow country and managed to steal fourteen good horses, with which they re-
796 turned to their own camps safely. Hate Woman was asked
555 to recount this adventure during the tribal Sun Dance, which was a great and unusual honor for a woman.

RUNNING EAGLE—WOMAN WARRIOR OF THE BLACKFEET

701 Running Eagle has become the most famous woman in the
462 history of the Blackfoot Nation because she gave up the
work of the household in exchange for the war trails usually
[555] followed by men. In fact, she became so successful on her war adventures that many men called her a chief and eagerly followed her whenever she would take them.

tribe. Among her companions were some of the same men 701
who had been on her first war raid, including her cousin/
brother, with whom she was spending a lot of her time. This 462
time, instead of wearing her buckskin dress, she had on a new 726
suit of warrior's clothing, including leggings, shirt, and breech- [714]
cloth. She also carried a fine rawhide war shield, that had
been given to her by the man who married the widow woman
who had moved into the orphan household some time before.

The second raid turned out quite successfully, although one member of the party was killed. They captured a herd of over six hundred horses, and killed a number of the enemy during a fight which followed their discovery during the raiding. The young woman was shot at, and would have been killed, but the two arrows both struck her shield, instead of her body.

The next time that the tribe gathered for the annual medi- 701
cine lodge ceremony, the young woman was asked to get up
with the other warriors and tell the people about her war 462
exploits. Other women had done so, but they had usually 796 ●
gone in the company of their husbands and had not accom- 555
plished such fearless deeds as she. When she finished her
stories the people applauded with drum beats and war
whoops, as was the custom. Then the head chief of the tribe,
a man named Lone Walker, is said to have honored her in a
way never known to have been done for a woman. After a [553]
short talk and a prayer, he gave her a new name—Running
Eagle—an ancient name carried by several famous warriors
in the tribe before her. In addition, the Braves Society of [575]
young warriors invited her to become a member, which honor
she is said to have accepted as well.

From that point on, Running Eagle, the young woman 701
warrior, became the leader of the war parties she went with, 462
no longer a follower. I cannot say how many such war raids
she went on, nor how many horses she captured, nor enemies
she killed. There are many different legends about them.

755 553 strength of the child. Yellow-Painted Lodge asked: "Do you want this baby to become a man?" Little Bear told him he did. Then he told Little Bear to make incense. He said: "I will sing my power song. If my power comes alive then I will give its name to this baby and it will grow up to be a strong man. He brought out his rawhide spider and placed it on a bunch of grass and began to sing. After he breathed on his hand, the spider began to move around, then ran across the floor to Little Bear and his wife. They saw it. Then it went back to Yellow-Painted Lodge, who put it away. He said: "Since my power has come alive for your child, I will give him the name Spider."

553 Spider lived to be an old man who died just a few years before I was born. He was a farmer whose favorite pastime was going to Indian dances. The old people say that when he danced he drifted so gently that he looked like a piece of eagle down. He always wore very elaborate beaded costumes, painted his face with bright and striking designs, and combed his hair in special styles for which he was noted. He never cut his hair during his lifetime, which earned him his other name, Long Hair.

THE INITIATIONS OF PAULA WEASEL HEAD, A BLOOD ELDER

by Paula Weasel Head

796 I'm going to tell you a little bit about the holy initiations
562 that I have gone through in my lifetime of over seventy years,
to show you what a woman can take part in with our tribal
852 culture. Because my father loved me very much he took me
along with him to all kinds of ceremonies that he went to.
793 His name was Iron, and he was famous for going through
more holy initiations than anyone else here, among the

532 design on another cover, and right now I could transfer the design to somebody else if I was asked to.

852 I was also initiated to join with a medicine pipe bundle when I was very small. Each of those bundles has a man and a wife for an owner, and a child goes with them to wear the special topknot wrapping and fur headband that is kept with the bundle. That is what they transferred to me, and I sat right up in front with the main people, each time the bundle's opening ceremony was held. I have been around medicine pipe bundles all of my life, and I know all their songs and ceremonies.

551 Mokakin and I got married in 1921. His name means Pemmican, although today he is also known by his uncle's name,
778 Eagle Ribs. We were still very young when we made a pledge
to take that bundle called Backside-to-the-Fire Medicine Pipe.
We treated it very well. I was very scared to do something
wrong to it, there are so many rules and regulations to follow.
● 796 The ones who initiated us for it were the real old-time people,
so we were initiated in the old-time way. The ceremony took
a couple of days. They even initiated us for going to sleep at
night and getting up in the morning.

778 We lived very good by that medicine pipe bundle. I used to
take it outside every morning, before the sun came up, as was
782 the custom. I always had to start a fire in the stove so that I
could make incense before I took the bundle out. I watched it
during the day so that nothing would happen to it while it
hung outside. That is what those tripods with each bundle are
for, to hang it from. But when the people started living in
houses they just put up a big nail at the back, where the bundle
can hang in the daytime. Then I made incense again before
the sun went away, and I would bring the bundle back inside.
I made incense once more before we lay down to sleep. That is
when we really learned to pray. That is one reason why you
have to make incense often for your bundles, so you will learn

575 as the adviser to these newer members. I am their grandmother. This is how Mokakin and I have been rewarded for our faith in the holy ways of our people. I have taken part in all these ancient ceremonies so often that I would be able to lead them all, if our customs didn't require men to be the ceremonial leaders.

PAULA WEASEL HEAD'S COMMENTS ON LIFE

829 We old people of the Bloods are very disturbed about the
behavior of the young people. There is very little respect left
853 today. A lot of us think the reason for this is that a lot of
829 young people were bottle-fed. The milk they were raised on
came from cows, so the young people of today have taken on the nature of cows. You know that cows only think of themselves, even though they like to run in bunches. Many of the young people are just the same.

829 Yes, I think there is still hope for them to change, in the
future. . . . If they will listen to good leaders, and learn to
have respect for all things, not just those that are theirs, and
781 if they will pray. Praying is what has brought us old people through life. We've all gone through hard times. We've all done our share of bad things. But through our prayers and faith in the Creator we get together again and we try hard to live right.

A few years ago Mokakin and I celebrated our fiftieth wedding anniversary. Even the government leaders sent us cards. We have had a long life together—good times and bad times. We have grown wise from the experiences we've gone through.

796 Our sacred transfers are the things that kept us the strong-
est in life. We believed in our religion, just like our old people
425 handed it down to us. For every important thing they did in
778 life there was a transfer—an initiation. Somebody that has

796 already gone through that transfer and knows all about it, he 425 will initiate a newcomer. It might be for a medicine pipe bundle, or it might be for a society bundle. These are things that 778 we live by—the ceremonies and the meanings of these initiations teach us about life, so we try to learn them. It is just the 829 same for a white man to study in school and learn a life. You make a living from it. Only they didn't work for money in the old days. They just worked for buffalo and enemy horses and nice belongings.

796 In our Indian life, Mokakin and I didn't just go ahead and 778 do whatever we wanted. We took over these different medicine bundles, and each one has its own initiations. For in- [294] stance, to make the holy moccasins worn for some ceremonies there is an initiation. There is another one for those mocca- 281 sins to be mended. Then there is one for making the buckskin 796 bags we keep sacred paint in. They make incense and they guide your hand to make all the first motions, for cutting, for 778 sewing, and for finishing up. And all the while everyone is 796 praying. Each time we get initiated like this, we get our face painted. That means you're given another thing to live by, and 302 these things add up.

829 But today most of the people don't care much about these ways as they were given down to us. They want to do them just to suit themselves. Just to go with their own ideas about being Indians. They will make up holy things or say that they know about a ceremony, when they never had their faces painted for these things. They are making up their own ways and using the things handed down from the Creator. I am waching this going on around me and I think it is bad. And I am not shy to speak up and say what I think. I am an old woman, and I have been initiated and given the rights to many, many things in life. All the older Bloods know this. When I speak my mind some people may think that I am being bossy. But everyone knows that it is our tradition to

606 food for us. She would just call us from outside and say:
"Here is something already cooked, for you to eat." That was
the old custom. Or she would tell me to come by her tipi later
602 in the day. When I had time I would go over there and she
would have a new pair of beaded moccasins for my father-in-law.
That was another custom, that the wife's mother made
moccasins for the husband's father. When I went to get them
I couldn't stay and visit long, because back then it was considered
improper for me to be anywhere for long besides my
own household. In those days respectful women were not seen
idle around the camps, visiting and talking.

831 There were some women in my younger days who were well
known for their loose ways. They were usually older women,
848 past my own age group. Often they were divorced or widowed.
The people had various expressions for them. They would say: "She has a light child" (fathered by someone in town) or "She has been gotten between," or "This one has a white father." Women like this usually kept to themselves, because their friends would be ashamed of them. In my young time we didn't really know much about this, we just heard about it. We didn't know the details for ourselves except as rumors. Nowadays nobody thinks much about this same kind of behavior, because it goes on so much. That is one of the signs of how much life has changed in my time.

THE TIME THE NUNS BROUGHT US TO THE SUN DANCE

by Paula Weasel Head

796 This happened when my sister and I were still quite young, and we were students at the boarding school. It was summertime and the people were camped at the Sun Dance grounds. We were all wanting to go there. I was terribly lonesome for my father, who was camping there too.

796 872 876 The nuns had a hard time in school to keep us from talking Blackfoot to each other. So they told us that if we spoke only English for one week they would bring us to the Sun Dance. Oh, my, you should have heard us for the next week—nothing but English wherever we went. We made it for the whole time.

796 The day came for us to go to the Sun Dance and we started walking. Some ways out from the camps there was a coulee, and just before we crossed the coulee the nuns told us to sit down. That is where they brought us to the Sun Dance. We hardly even recognize anybody, let alone visit with them. Here we had thought they would take us right into the camp.

796 575 535 In those days the Sun Dance lasted a long time—a month or more—because they had a lot of societies still active, and a lot of ceremonies to go through. The societies would take turns dancing on different days. There were the Pigeons, Crazy Dogs, Braves, Crow Carriers, and the Horns. The Horns took four days for their dances, and so did the Motokiks, which was made up of women. Then at the end of that they would have a day or two of the Parted Hairs Society—powwow dancing that everybody took part in.

796 778 In those days there was a lot of activity with medicine pipes, too. As many as four might be transferred during the time of the Sun Dance. Some of the owners opened their medicine pipe bundles to have a dance and give tobacco out. Sometimes an owner will want to give up his medicine pipe bundle, and no one makes a vow to take it. The owner will gather some old medicine pipe men and they will open the bundle during the night. Early the next morning they will go to the tipi of one who has a lot of property. He can afford the expensive transfer ceremony. Maybe he has a special horse that the owner of the bundle wants. He will be sleeping when the group arrives. They will be carrying the medicine pipe and other parts of the bundle. The first thing he will know is when the leader of the group gives the war cry, and the rest join in.

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796 Sometimes he will be sleeping without his clothes on, and he
778 will be surprised. We say, "He was awakened with a medicine
pipe."

They had other ceremonies at the Sun Dance in those days,
too. There were two or three beaver bundles, and sometimes
778 they were opened or transferred. My father had one of these,
793 once. His father was named Khi-soum—Sun—and he was the
main beaver man among the Bloods. He and his wives knew
all about the birds and animals that were in the bundle. There
must have been hundreds of them, all skinned and tanned.
Some had glass beads sewn in for eyes. Some had hair stuffed
in their bodies to look real. Us kids were painted and blessed
for some of these things. My grandfather Khi-soum was a real
beaver man, just like a bishop. He knew all the many songs
for the bundle, and he knew the legends and ceremonies.
793 Beaver men knew the weather and how the seasons change.
821 They kept count of the days and passing moons with sticks
805 from their bundles. They were in charge of the Sun Dance, and
of the Holy Smoke Ceremonies that we still have during nights
796 in winters. They even had medicine pipes in their bundles.
778 They were called beaver pipes, or water pipes, because that's
where they were first given to the people.

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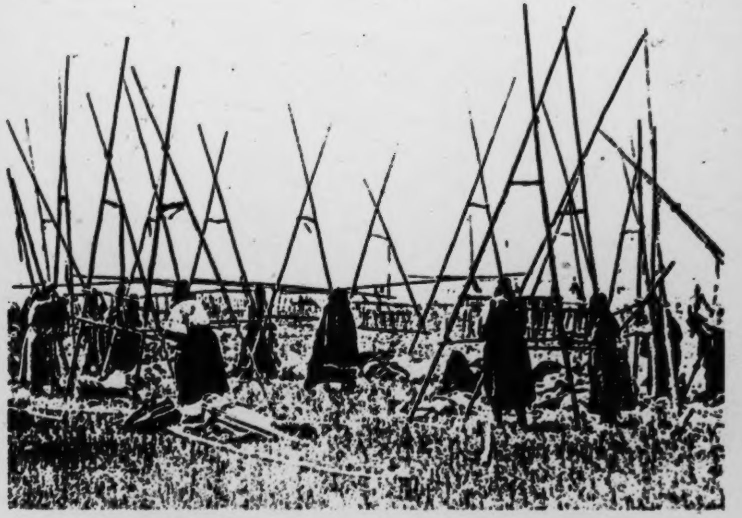

Members of the Blood women's society, the Motokiks, putting up their annual meeting lodge in the center of the Sun Dance camp. This picture is from 1891, but we still camp here each summer. (PHOTO: GLENBOW-ALBERTA INSTITUTE)

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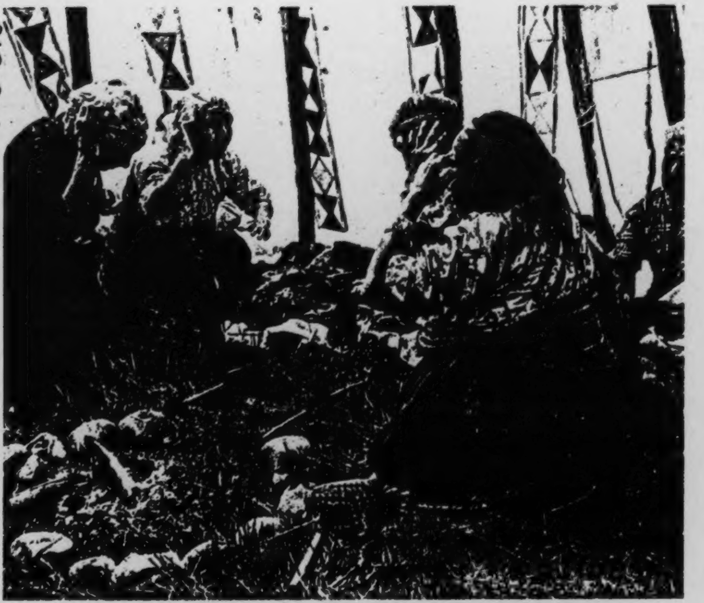

The Beaver Bundle Dance was last done by the Bloods when this picture was taken in 1967. The women are bouncing on their knees and imitating beavers, while four men sing and pound rawhide rattles in the background. The woman second from left is my aunt's mother, Mrs. White-Man-Left, who once had a beaver bundle with her husband. Right across from her is the holy woman, Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, who had the last beaver bundle among the Bloods. This ceremony was a drama of my ancestors' life in harmony with nature, during which they sang about, prayed to, and imitated all the main birds and animals that they knew. Each of these was represented by a stuffed skin kept in the large medicine bundle, which a man and his wife spent a lifetime learning to take care of. Today most of the ceremony and knowledge is lost. (PHOTO: PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF ALBERTA)

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854 Me and my youngest son, Iniskim. One of my older cousins did the floral beadwork and I put the cradleboard together.

114
115 *Below*, Me and my old ladies at Browning, Montana, ready to go inside for George and Molly Kicking Woman's annual Medicine Pipe Ceremony. From left is Paula Weasel Head (Ponah); her sister, Annie Red Crow; Rainy Woman (Mrs. Striped Wolf); her sister, Stealing-Different-Things-Woman (Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door). Together we drove over
[484]
[796] two hundred miles that day just to attend this ceremony and get back home. Those old women kept me laughing all the way, with their funny stories and songs. Incidentally, the term old woman, or old lady, is a proper one to use among my grandmothers. (PHOTOS: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

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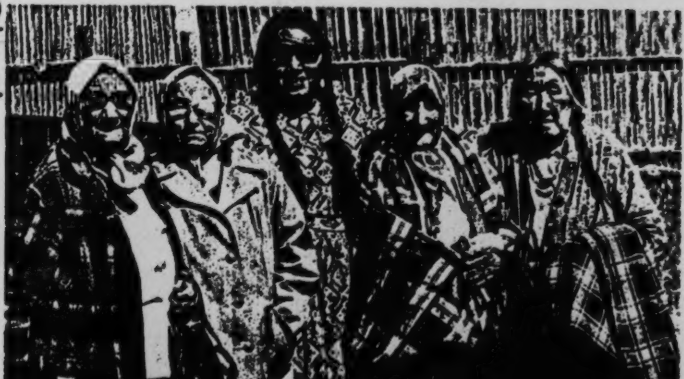

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Learning from My Grandmothers

THERE IS A special thrill to waking up in a tipi. I think this has 186 helped make tipi living so popular among many different people 342 in recent years. Even among Indians there is a revival of using tipis at tribal encampments. Tipis are an aesthetic link to our ancestral past, as well as being handsome and practical dwellings to camp in.

This is greatly magnified when the tipi is part of a traditional 361 holy camp, like the Sun Dance of my people. We still 796 camp according to families and bands, as part of a large tribal circle. That circle always includes most of our elders, who look forward to this annual event all year long. In addition, the circle seems to grow larger each year as more and more of our young people discover the spiritual strength that can be gained from this experience.

I love to wake up on an early summer morning to hear 203 some old person singing in one of the lodges. Another old person will go around the camp circle to announce the day's events, and to add some words of advice and encouragement. This is our traditional form of news and information broadcasting.

But the best part of the Sun Dance encampment is that I 123

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The Dances of My Grandmothers

535 In THE LONG-AGO DAYS there were basically just two kinds of
535 public dances. One was the War Dance, done by warriors
ready to leave on the war trail. They danced to get up their
726 courage and enthusiasm. The women stood around them and
gave support by singing and giving war yells, but they did not
535 actually dance. The other dance was held when the warriors
727 returned, if they brought along scalps and suffered no losses
to their party. This Scalp Dance was done mostly by women
—the wives, mothers, and sisters of those who had gotten the
scalps, as well as those who had been mourning for a relative
lost to the enemy. These women held the fresh scalps aloft on
the ends of sticks while they let themselves go in a dance of
victory, which included much shouting and pantomime. After
the dances the scalps were usually thrown away.

535 Besides the two public dances the people of the past also
had many ceremonial dances. Participation was generally lim-
796 ited to initiated members. One of these was the Medicine Pipe
535 Dance, which was performed at least once each year for every
796 medicine pipe bundle. The men took turns dancing with vari-
778 ous articles from within the bundles. The women generally
stood in the background and danced in one place, bouncing

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at the knees and occasionally shouting, to help and inspire the 535
dancing men. One medicine pipe bundle has had the unusual 796
custom that women are allowed to dance with its contents as
well as the men—one taking turns with the other. This is the 778
Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe which has belonged to Paula Weasel [562]
Head and is discussed elsewhere.

Another tradition common to all medicine pipe bundles 562
also allows women to dance. This happens if a woman is near 778
death and she or a relative calls on the powers of a certain 755
sacred pipe to rescue her. If she survives, then she is allowed
to dance with the sacred pipe, or another part of its bundle. 535
However, her dance is very subdued and serious, compared to the general medicine pipe dancing done by the men. It is considered a very special blessing, for which the woman and her relatives are expected to make generous gifts of blankets and other goods to the bundle's keepers. This custom is still followed today. For many women it has been their only opportunity to be so close to one of the sacred tribal articles.

The beaver bundles of my ancestors had ceremonies even 778
more involved than those of the medicine pipes. These bun- 796
dles contained the preserved skins of nearly every kind of bird 535
and animal that lived in the country of our tribe. Each of these [237]
skins had one or more songs that was sung during parts of
the ceremony. At the same time participants danced with the skins and imitated the bird or animal with symbolic movements. Some of these dances were done by the men, some by the women, and several involved both. One of the concluding dances symbolized the mating of buffalo. Two at a time, the men and women dancers paired off and did their best to imitate the actions of wild buffalo, much to the delight of the rest of the crowd watching.

Another ceremonial dance in which women imitate the 575
actions of buffalo is done by the ancient society for women, 796
the Motokiks. I have heard that this society was once active 535
among all the divisions of the Blackfoot Nation, but today it
functions only among the Blood. 562
[184]

575 functions only among the Bloods. Every year, during the Sun
796 Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a special
535 lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their
562 meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private.
[533] Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies, especially
the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the
778 dance songs. The members[A] wear ancient headdresses that they
[575] keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the
[292] year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and they are very highly regarded by all the tribe.

535 When the days of war parties and scalp-taking ended, in the later eighteen hundreds, the old Scalp Dance evolved into a social dance known as the Circle Dance, or the Long-Tail Dance. It was a slow dance in which the people joined hands and arms and moved sideways in large circles. Men, women, and children all took part, but from looking at old photos it seems that the dancers were most often rows of women. This dance is still performed, though at a slightly quicker pace, under the current name of Round Dance. It is the native version of a "slow dance," and is often requested when the fast dancers are about worn out.

Another popular dance for both men and women is called the Owl Dance. It has a lively hard-soft drumbeat to which the people generally dance in couples, following each other in a circling or waving line around the dance floor. Some fancy-dressed men follow this dance alone, while others
[834] follow with a woman in each arm. Even the elders seem to enjoy this dance a lot, although when they were young tribal customs frowned on the public display of intimacy necessary to
[177] do it properly. Like most of the new Indian-style dances done by the Bloods, this one was introduced from other tribes.

535 Dances have always been important in the courting life of
584 my grandmothers. They were among the few occasions in the past when young men and young women were allowed to be

A [i.e., of the women's society, Motokiks--Analyst]

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Here is a picture of my grandmother, AnadaAki, back in 1939. She was feeding my older brother, Black Eyes (Gilbert Little Bear). Against the log house sits her mother, doing beadwork. (PHOTO: HILDA STRANGLING WOLF)

A group of initiated women doing the Beaver Bundle Dance during the day-long ceremony inside a tipi. Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door is facing us on the right. (PHOTO: PROVINCIAL MUSEUM OF ALBERTA)

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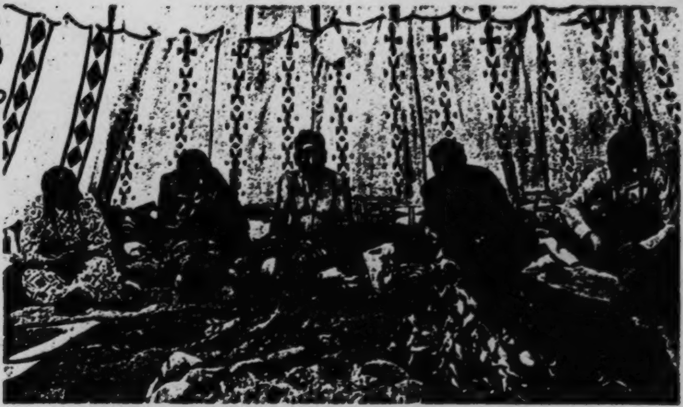

Recent leaders of the sacred Sun Dance ceremony, inside their sacred tipi, among the North Piegan division of the Blackfoot Nation. At the left is the Blood holy woman, Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, who was initiating a new holy woman, Josephine Crow Shoe (Nez-Perce-Woman), seated next to her. In the center is Josephine's husband, Joe, and next to him is Mike Swims Under, who was helping the widowed Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door to initiate the new couple. Next to him is my husband, Adolf, who had the honor to serve as the ceremonial assistant. In front of him lie rawhide rattles used to accompany the many sacred songs which must be sung for this ceremony. Between the two men lies the sacred Natoas bundle, which has already been taken down from its hanging place on a tipi pole, at the rear. After more singing and ceremony the bundle was unwrapped and the sacred headdress brought out, put together, and placed on the new holy woman. (PHOTO: BEVERLY HUNGRY WOLF) *Below*, the old and the new: In a camp of tipis, canvas-wall tents, and modern camping tents, an old woman fixes her meals in the ancient manner, over an outdoor fire. (PHOTO: ADOLF HUNGRY WOLF)

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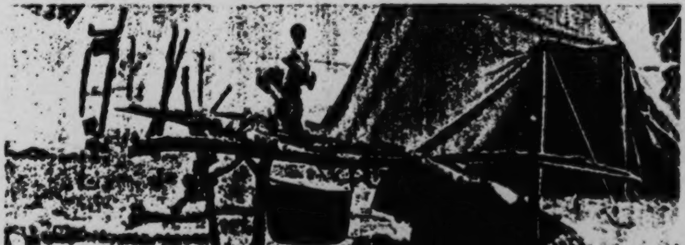

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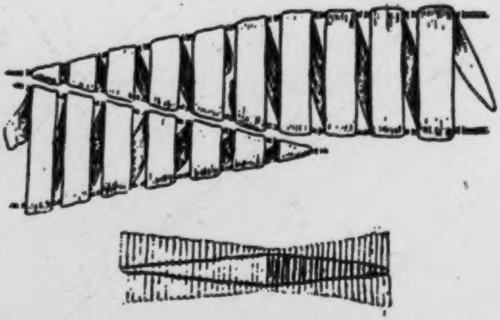

porcupine so that they form patterns and designs. This art[A] was [237]
first taught to the long-ago people by Thunder, according to [773]
our legends. Ever since then it has been regarded as a sacred
craft. Those who wish to learn it and practice it go to an ex- [796]
perienced elder to be initiated and instructed. There are yet
several people who have been so initiated. However, my [753]
mother gave me the common tribal opinion that quillworkers
go blind early, and often suffer from internal problems due
to some kind of power in the quills.

Porcupine quills were used in their natural shades, as well 237
as dyed. All the main colors for dyeing were obtained from 386
different plants, which were usually moistened, covered with
quills, and then wrapped up until dry. By that time the color 531
was usually soaked into the quills permanently. After colored 294
cloth was introduced by traders, in the eighteen hundreds,
some people dyed their quills by boiling them with pieces of
cloth. Others in more recent times have used commercial dyes.

Quillworkers soak the quills in their mouths to soften 294
them before they are sewed down. Among the basic supplies 531
needed, in addition to quills of various sizes and colors (all
kept in separate pouches—traditionally in dried and softened [415]
cow bladders), are many strands of rolled sinew, an awl, a [412]

[A] [i.e., porcupine quill decoration--Analyst]

294 smooth object used to flatten down the quills after they are
531 sewn on, and a piece of tanned hide on which to apply the
[415] work.

A common method of sewing quills down on buckskin is
[412] as follows. Two parallel sinew threads are stitched down after each crossing of a quill which is folded back and forth, beginning with the butt end and ending with the tip. The tip and the next butt end are then overlapped in such a way that the joint will not show on the completed work. The width of a quilled band produced in this way is very narrow.

QUILLWORK

by Ruth Little Bear

In the old days they used to decorate their clothing and fancy articles with colored porcupine quills. This was especially so before the women got hold of beads and began
[796] doing beadwork. Quillwork was a special craft and a woman had to be initiated by an older lady before she could begin. This is still true today; that is why there are only a few people
237 left who can do quillwork among the Blackfoot. They say
753 that all of these people who did quillwork would eventually get sick and hemorrhage. I don't know what kind of substance is in a porcupine quill, but they say they got sick from that. They had to soak them in their mouths and use their teeth to flatten them, and that's how they took that substance.

294 I've never gone through the initiation for quillwork, so all
531 I did was beadwork. But I've seen ladies who were good at it. They kept their quills in special bags made from buffalo
237 bladders. The bladders were blown up and tied and then hung
415 up to dry. When they were dry they were rubbed back and
[281] forth until the fibers broke down and the bag was kind of soft. Then it was folded lengthwise two or three times. The quills were inserted into the bag through a slit. The bags were stiff enough to keep the quills from being bent.

237 Only certain quills were used—the thin ones that were

their way to Waterton and Banff National Parks 778
or to the famous Calgary Stampede in Canada. 823
Yet there are areas far enough away from the
speeding traffic for the Belly Buttes to remain the
isolated center of the Holy Spirit among the
Blood People. 823

The Power of the Buttes is felt by all who go 778
near them, even when there is no encampment in 776
progress. One winter a desperate family searched
an old Sun Dance campsite for firewood, which is [372]
scarce out on the prairie. This family discovered
they were using the fallen log of the sacred Center
Pole for fuel when they were awakened during
a cold night by an unseen Power singing the holy
Center Pole songs in a loud voice. Another time,
an enterprising rancher from our reserve began to
fence in the Buttes so that his cattle could graze
there. But he was discouraged from building his [784]
fence when strange sensations overtook him; older [782]
relatives reminded him that Holy Spirits must not
be disturbed without some sacrifice.

□ 823

In 1972 the Sun Dance Encampment was 796
located near the edge of the flat that overlooks 778
the tree- and brush-lined Belly River bottoms. As
the flat rises up from the river, the Belly Buttes [133]
rise up from the flat, farther to the east. It is in [787]
those Buttes that many men have gone to find
their visions and Spirit helpers. Bears lived there [136]
not long ago. Today, eagles sometimes build their
nests there, and mountain lions cross tracks with
porcupines and coyotes. In some of the many [764]
caves and crevices are now the final resting places
of those Old People who passed away after laws
were made forbidding the traditional practice of
placing bodies near to the Spirit World on top of
scaffolds or in branches of trees.

It was still morning when we arrived at the 123
campground with our outfit. Our spiritual grand- 115
parents, Mokakin and Ponah, pointed out a
vacant spot next to their tipi where they thought
we should camp. Mokakin, who was attending his 553
[554]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 796
793
237
824
534
292

Wolf Old Man as head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. He is holding an eagle-wing fan and sprig of Creeping Juniper, the Sun Dance incense. He is blowing on an eagle bone whistle to keep time to his dancing and the drumming and singing. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.14-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

778
•796
123

[868] The highlight of each visit from the Old Man was when we sat down by the altar, made incense, and sang the ancient songs for the Medicine Pipe ceremony. Thus has the knowledge passed from Teacher to Teacher, through countless generations.

[P. 19-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Stories of Our Sun Dance Ceremonies

The greatest spiritual celebration of our People is commonly called the Sun Dance. A lifetime of Teachings and a massive book could not cover all the variations that were a part of the many Sun Dance celebrations of the past. Like most everything else among our People, the Ways of the Sun Dance continually change in response to dreams, visions, and living conditions. The most dramatic changes, of course, came with the end of the Old Days of hunting the buffalo and living in harmony with nature. Very few of our Old People still know even the basic Ways of the celebration. Although we meet annually to form the circle camp we call the Sun Dance Encampment, it has been several years since even an abbreviated version of the ceremony itself has been held. If our People should ever call for another spiritual celebration, it would best be done in a New Way, using what remains known of the Old Ways only for inspiration. 796 ● 178

The closing ceremony of Sun Dance celebrations is the building of the sacred Medicine Lodge. The entire Sun Dance celebration is also known as the Medicine Lodge ceremony or Okan. Some of the past Okans are recounted here to show what they meant to our Old People, and hopefully to inspire our young to again seek spiri- 796 121

[p. 20-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

tual communion with nature through sacred tribal festivals. 796 ● 121

THE BLOOD OKAN IN THE YEAR 1892

One of the most thorough records of a Sun Dance Encampment was made by Robert N. Wilson during the summer of 1892. For many years, beginning in the 1890s, Wilson operated a store in the log building once known as David Lambert's Trading Post. The old building stood, until a few years ago, on a bluff near Stand Off, overlooking the Waterton River (called the Kootenay River by our Old People) and Highway No. 2. 114

Wilson traded foodstuffs, hardware, guns, and blankets for furs, beadwork, relics, and, of course, money. He was a representative of the Hudson's Bay Company and carried their popular point blankets. Most Blood men in those days wore blanket coats made from these point blankets. Wilson was also a representative for the Chicago Field Museum, where he sold most of the craftwork and relic items he obtained in trade from our People. 439 [291] 114

Wilson was well liked by our Old People. They called him Inuskaisto, or "Long-Faced

[p. 20-B]

Crow." He spoke the Blackfoot language and 114
took an interest in the Old Ways. With notebook and camera he recorded some of those Ways from those who still knew their traditional meanings. He wrote down the Blood versions of many old tales told among the tribe. These were given to him by the master storyteller, old Eagle Ribs. He also wrote accounts of Medicine Pipe, Beaver Bundle, and Nighttime ceremonies as they were led by such holy men as Moon and Running Wolf. He used both paper and camera to record the last Medicine Lodge self-torture ceremony, at which men who had promised to torture themselves physically, in exchange for spiritual help during some earlier time of need, fulfilled their vows. Many of the customs and rituals Wilson recorded still are alive in the Old Ways we observe today.

Copies of Wilson's unpublished papers and 127
photographs are in the collections of the Glenbow Foundation Archives in Calgary, Alberta. The foundation's historical director, Hugh Dempsey, was most helpful in my efforts to record all these Old Ways; his staff also gave time, locating and duplicating photographs and papers. It is good to know that some museums and ethnologists care more for our People's Ways than just to collect their belongings.

□

In 1892, people were already living in log cab- 657
ins instead of tipis. They could not roam beyond 178
the limits of the reserve, and cows had replaced [342]
buffalo as the source of meat. Nevertheless, most
of the Blood People still taught their young and lived according to the Teachings of the Old Ways. They continued to be proud to be of the Blood tribe, and worked hard to learn the songs and ceremonies that had inspired their parents and grandparents.

An example of how closely the People still 796 ●
followed the Old Ways occurred during the 782
winter before the Okan. Seven women felt called
upon to vow to make the personal sacrifice of 793
"putting up the Medicine Lodge." Among our 796
People, the person who represents the tribe in the [156]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22A)

[p. 21-A]

793
holy place of the Medicine Lodge ceremony is a 796
woman, a virtuous woman who has lived a
straight life and knows the Good Spirits. The [156]
holy woman's spiritual responsibilities are many
and her physical sufferings are strong. That's why
it was unusual to have as many as seven making
the sacred vows in one year.

Only a woman who has lived a pure life will [782]
approach the Holy Powers and offer to exchange
her physical suffering for the spiritual good of her
People. The vow is usually made in a time of
extreme need, such as a severe illness in her family
or a male relative gone on the warpath. (The 721
last battle between enemy war parties was fought 555
five years before the 1892 Okan. However, many 178
Blood men were still following the traditional
practice of proving their bravery and finding adventure
by raiding for horses or material trophies
in places distant from the reserve. This continued
well into the present century.)

After a woman has vowed to make the sacrifice 782
of putting up the Medicine Lodge, she goes 796
to an old man, usually a respected member of her
family, and walks with him outdoors. He calls out
for Sun and all the Holy Powers to hear that this
woman is seeking protection for her family and
herself, so that she might fulfill her vow for the
good of all the People. The vow is usually made
during wintertime, giving her half the year to prepare
for the holy ceremony—the erection of the
holy temple in the center of the Sun Dance camp.

Early in the summer of 1892, the People of 796
the Blood tribe began to gather on the large flat
that lies north of Stand Off and to the east below
the Belly Buttes. Nearby was a large grove of cottonwoods [372]
where firewood was gathered. Next to
the camp flowed fresh mountain water in the
Belly River.

As the Blood tribe forms a division of the 619
Blackfoot Confederacy, so do several lesser bands 628
form divisions within the Bloods. In the Old
Days, these lesser bands often camped apart from [361]
each other, depending on their preferences of

[p. 22-A]

hunting and camping sites. The bands camped 619
together only during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. 628
But in 1892, although the people still lived
with their own bands, they were not separated by [796]
such great distances as before. Each band had a
traditional place where its members put up their [361]
tipis and tents. Their place was left unoccupied whether the members of the band arrived late or not at all.

The Bloods were made up of ten or twelve 621
bands at any one time. The number of bands 619
varied because people were free to leave a band if they disagreed with its chief or if they preferred to follow the chief of another band. Some of the larger bands had more than one chief.

Let me tell you the names of some of the 101
bands that existed around the turn of the century 621
and the names of some band chiefs. The Lone
Fighters were led jointly by One Spot and Heavy 622
Shield, and later solely by Running Wolf. The Fish Eaters were led by Crop-Eared Wolf, and later by Many White Horses. This was the band of Blood's tribal head chief, Red Crow, and his family. The Bite-Throats were led by Low Horn. The Followers of Buffalo were led by Bull Horn; the Black Elks, by Bull Shield; the Many Children, by Young Pine; the Skinny People, by Running Antelope; and the Many Tumors, by Strangling Wolf.

Many of the People still used travois to haul 493
their belongings to the 1892 camp. Others came 492
in wagons, while a few in their slim-wheeled buggies challenged the rocks and holes lining the pathways to camp. The travois consisted of two tipi poles tied together near the end attached to the horse, with the untied ends spread apart to drag on the ground behind the horse. Padding was placed where the poles crossed, for they rested on the horse's shoulders. Crosspieces, tied to the poles near where they dragged, provided a frame on which the family could tie their belongings. Small items were rolled between tipi covers and fur robes, while larger bags were either tied to

the outside of the main bundle or slung over the 493
horse's back. Sacred Bundles were carried only on 492
a special horse and travois. Usually no one but the
Bundle's Owner could ride such a horse. Nor was [778]
that horse used to carry meat. This was to keep
the Spirit of the animal pure and clean for its [784]
holy duties.

The seven vowing Okan women and their 796
families were among the first to arrive at the 346
camp circle. They pitched their tipis closer to the
center of the circle than the others. Cottonwood [361]
boughs were piled up outside against the base of
their tipis. In this way, people would know that [824]
these tipis were sitting holy and should not be
disturbed. The green leaves hiding the bottoms of
the tipis of these holy women served as spiritual
guards for those who were within. Children were
taught not ~~to play~~ nearby, lest they disturb the
holy thoughts inside.

Dried tongue is the meal of communion during 796
the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred 262
tongues must be dried and prepared beforehand 251
in the spring so that everyone in the camp can
share in this communion. The tongues, symbols [776]
of the natural foods of the buffalo as well as the
main foods of our People, represent the Spirits of
buffalo.

Traditionally, buffalo tongues were brought
to the vowing holy woman by generous hunters.
With the help of her family, she dried and stored [793]
them in preparation for the holy ceremony. But by
1892, beef had replaced buffalo in the diets of our [178]
People, so beef tongues were used instead. (The 136
last buffalo killed by our People—around the year

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 24A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

1884—was a lone bull who was found in one of the prairie coulees.) 136

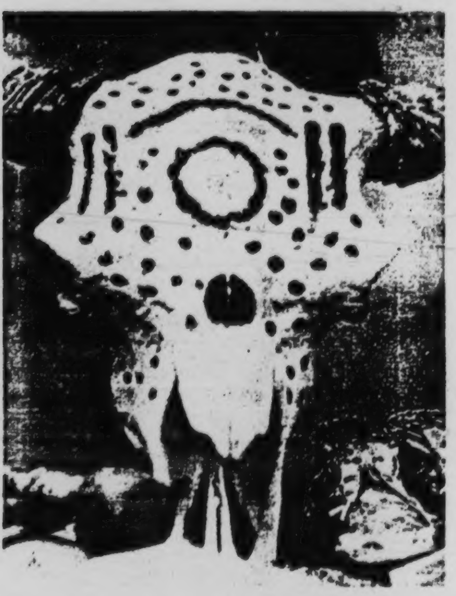
When the camp circle was filled with enough people to represent the Spirit of the tribe, the Okan women gave word to move the camp. After a short ride, the camp was set up again. Three times the camp was moved this way. On the fourth day, the final move was made to a site where the Medicine Lodge was to be built. In 1892 the seven holy women and their parties used four tipis for their preparatory ceremonies. One of these tipis belonged to the family of Big Wolf, whose wife was one of the vowing women. 796 ●

The men who took part in the preparations for the Medicine Lodge ceremony were purified by sweat baths several times, beginning on the day before the final move to the Medicine Lodge site. The sweat houses were built by the members of four different men's societies. Each society built one sweat house whose frames were constructed of one hundred long, straight willows. The members of each society went out into the woods to collect the willows. When they returned, they rode together as a group, holding the branches in their hands and singing an ancient song, in imitation of a victorious war party returning home with trophies. All the People came out of their tipis to witness the event. 343 346 [783] [796] [824] [533]

The four sweat lodges were built a short distance outside the camp circle, near the holy women's tipis. Older men supervised the construction of the lodges. Half the willows were stuck into the ground on the south side of the lodge. These were painted with red earth, representing the Power of the warm summers. The rest of them were placed on the north side and were covered with black paint, representing the Power of the winters. Wider spaces were left on the east and west sides, for entering and leaving, breaking the otherwise complete willow circle. Opposing willows were bent toward the center and intertwined with each other, forming a basketlike frame. Over this frame, fur robes, [361] [822]

[p.24-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



237
778
796 ●
531

Buffalo skull painted for the Medicine Lodge ceremony, on display at the Glenbow Museum. Symbols represented include: Sun in the center; pairs of Sun Dogs on each side; crescent Moon above; Morning Star below; and hail stones, or Thunder, all around.

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blankets, and quilts were draped in such a way 343
that the inside became absolutely dark and fairly 346
airtight. A buffalo skull, representing the Power
and Spirit of the traditional food source, was [778]
painted with ceremonial colors and laid on top of [237]
each lodge facing the east.

As the sweat lodges neared completion, fires [801]
were started to heat the rocks—one hundred rocks for the fires in each lodge. One hundred is a sacred number during the Medicine Lodge ceremony because it is many, like the People of the tribe.

[p. 24B]

Each holy woman had a spiritual mother, a 796 ●
former holy woman, who gave her a sacred 793
Bundle and the knowledge and rights to use it for
the ceremony.[A] Their husbands were instructed by [778]
spiritual fathers, who were in turn the husbands
of former holy women. While the husbands engaged [782]
in the sweat baths, the holy women sat
outside the lodge and prayed. The purifying sweat [783]
baths marked the beginning of the holy fast. During
this fast, the holy women and their husbands [785]
concentrated completely on their efforts to inspire
their People. The only thing they consumed was a
shell full of water each morning and evening.
Only the participants of the Medicine Lodge
ceremony were allowed near their tipis, and they
spoke not at all or in whispers.

The fourth and final move was made early in 796
the morning. While the camp's lodges were being
set up, the holy leaders marked out the site for 346
the Medicine Lodge in the center of the camp [361]
circle, and dug the holes for the posts. While the [957]
women arranged their households, the children gathered firewood. The men went down to the river bottom, where they ceremoniously cut one upright post and one rafter log for the frame of the Medicine Lodge, then returned to the camp with the Spirit of a successful victory and again sang the ancient song. Some men fired their guns into the air. The excitement spread around the camp and strengthened the Spirits of everyone.

The construction of the Medicine Lodge began with the placement of twelve upright cottonwood logs. These posts stood in a circle about thirty-five feet in diameter; in the center was the large hole into which would go the Center Pole. The posts, long enough to extend about nine feet above the ground, forked at the top end. Eleven smaller logs, each about twelve feet long, were laid so that their ends rested in the forks of adjacent uprights, thus forming a circle. The remainder of the Holy Lodge was constructed the following day, the most important day of the ceremony.

A,[i.e., the Sun Dance--Analyst]

- [P.25-A]

Wilson observed in his notes: 796
346
782

That morning as I neared the camp I saw that most of the lodges had sacrifices or offerings of some garment or blanket elevated upon an extra lodge-pole leaning against the lodge; these were tied to cross sticks. . . . At each of the four lodges occupied by the O-Kon people an extension rite was, in the forenoon, begun.

Wilson did not often explain the spiritual meanings of the details of ceremonies he recorded. For instance, the customary purpose of an offering is to give every family an opportunity to participate in building the sacred lodge. A gift of fabric, fastened to a small frame, is presented to the holy people, who are acting in behalf of the Spirits, just before the main construction of the lodge takes place. The frame is made by tying two [824] scraped willow sticks in the shape of a cross, representing the Four Holy Directions of the Universe. Bunches of sage tied to the cross represent the gifts obtained from our Mother Earth. The cloth is added to share our material wealth with the Holy Powers. Each family hangs its offering above its tipi early in the morning so that the Spirits of Sun and the Universe can see where it came from. The family members, observing their offering in this way, derive spiritual pride for their part in the proceedings.

On the day the Center Pole is raised, the 793
holy women end their fasting and praying, and 796
the former holy women (or woman) transfer 778
their sacred Bundles to the new holy women. In 1892, the seven transfers were conducted simultaneously in the four main tipis.

The holy woman's sacred Bundle is called the Natoas. It is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case [415]
decorated with painted designs and long fringes.
On the outside of the rawhide case the sacred [412]
digging stick is fastened, the same kind of stick our women used to dig edible roots like camas.
During the transfer ceremony, a set of dried [237]

moose hooves is tied to the stick. The hooves and 796
stick symbolize our Old People's main foods— 795
meat and roots. They also represent two of the 778
spiritual helpers who are said to have contributed [237]
their Powers to the original Natoas. The mean-
ings of these items were revealed in a dream to a [262]
Beaver Bundle man who kept the original Natoas. [787]

The holy woman's sacred headdress is the
most important item in the rawhide case. Like [292]
our other tribal Medicines of ancient origin, this
one is made up of things symbolic of the natural
world. The base of the headdress is a rawhide [237]
band of buffalo skin, shaped like a lizard. Plumes
and feathers of eagles and other birds are fastened [531]
to it so that they stand up. Skins of weasels are
attached so that they hang down, and an ancient
arrowhead hangs from one side. A tiny image-doll [532]
stuffed with sacred tobacco seeds is attached to
the rawhide band to represent mystical Spirits [776]
known as the Little People. Back when our Old
People still grew sacred tobacco, the Little People
would mysteriously come and give it their Power
to be sacred.

Wilson made these observations during the transfer ceremonies of these sacred headdresses:

> *Simultaneously, the initiation rite was per-* 796
> *formed in '92 in all four of the lodges. I witnessed* 793
> *that in which three women were initiated at once*
> *in Running Wolf's lodge. The front had been* [346]
> *enclosed and poles of the lodge had been spread*
> *far apart and a second lodge pitched in front, so*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 27]

[p. 26-7]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
793
778
292

Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door is the last Blood Holy Woman. She is seen wearing her Natoas headdress as she entered the last Blood Medicine Lodge ten years ago.

[P.26-B]

> *that when their canvas was joined a double lodge* 796
> *was formed. At back end of the lodge proper,* 793
> *sitting in a row, were the old and new O-Kon*
> *women and the master of ceremonies [Wilson* [346]
> *means the holy women and the priest]; also the*
> *husbands of the women about to be initiated. In* 796
> *middle of lodge a hole had been dug 2½ by 3 feet* 778
> *square and 4 inches deep; the sod taken from it*
> *was piled around three sides and covered with* [824]
> *pine boughs [actually, boughs of creeping juniper*
> *—a species commonly found in our country; it*
> *grows close to the earth and is the sacred incense*
> *for Medicine Lodge ceremonies]. Bottom of hole* [531]
> *was covered with white clay in which had been*
> *drawn, an inch deep, this design [showing the*
> *main symbols of the Universe]; the bottom of all*
> *the marks was painted black by sprinkling in*
> *them black paint, the edges yellow. A cottonwood* [824]
> *tree was planted in ground to the left of hole.*
> *Tree 7 or 8 feet high. Upon the tree were hanging*
> *the head dresses to be disposed of.*

The hole Wilson describes was the incense 796
alter, representing our Mother Earth. The designs 778
indicated Moon, in the shape of a crescent; Sun;
Morning Star; and Sun Dogs. The black paint was 531
for Night Sky, the yellow paint for the Powers [822]
represented. The small cottonwood tree stood as a [824]
symbol of the Old People's main source of fire-
wood, without which they would have perished. [372]
In the midst of these spiritual symbols, the sacred headdresses were hung. In addition, the leader of the sacred ceremonies regularly made incense on the altar, for its sweet smell symbolized the presence of the Holy Spirits.

Wilson continues:

> *Seven men rattled and sang, and the three* 796
> *old O-Kon women took each a root digger, and* 793
> *leaning upon them, dance upon their knees, rat-*
> *tling against the stick each a bundle of buffalo* [533]
> *toes [moose hooves], and at end of the song tied*
> *the toes to the stick securely and in next songs* [535]
> [237]

they, still keeping time, danced pointing the 796
sticks towards the clay [symbolically giving them 793
the Power of the sacred incense]. Sticks were
then put down and the candidates were robed in [533]
new clothes; an elk skin tanned on both sides is [535]
the proper robe for O-Kon to wear. Part of the
lodge was screened off [by blankets held up by [237]
some of the other participants], behind which [292]
. . . the re-dressing of the woman was done. At this stage, relatives of one of the O-Kon women [such as Red Crow's wife] brought in piles of dry goods etc., and deposited them on the ground, after which they were all gathered up by children of the old woman who was installing her, and taken away home.

There was more singing and rattling, during
which the holy women kept time to the rhythm.
The new holy women were painted by the old [302]
ones with sacred red earth.

Then the three older women [took] *the head-bands from the tree and* [danced] *them towards the clay* [for] *2 or 3 songs. Next they placed head-bands upon their own head, and* [danced] *on their knees towards the tree, which all 3 butted with their heads and grunted as they did so several times. [They were imitating the elk cow, who gave her Powers with the original Natoas after knocking down a cottonwood tree to prove her strength to her husband and to the dreamer.] Head-bands were then taken off and held by each woman in front of the younger one whom she was installing; and after dancing it there in front of her awhile and passing it 4 times around the younger's head, put it on and tied it in place.*

Singing without rattles, three old men [hus- [302]
bands of the three retiring holy women] painted
the three O-Kon men black from head to foot,
with a yellow streak across the face and a yellow
ring around each wrist. [The yellow paint again [822]
represented the Above Powers, especially Sun.]

[p. 27-B]

> *Renewing the rattling as they sang and after* 793
> *many flourishes, a crow's tail was tied to the back* 796
> *lock of each black man's hair, and a scalp tied* [237]
> *around his neck, which was first passed 4 times*
> *around his head and handed to him and taken* [301]
> *again by the priest to tie. In the meantime, the* [302]
> *women's faces had been painted, and the root*
> *diggers stuck in their belts behind, the rattles*
> *dangling therefrom.*
>
> *The O-Kon necklaces were next produced* [301]
> *and with usual flourishes and songs were tied*
> *about each man's neck and wrists. This concluded*
> *that part of it.*

These necklaces, *O-Koch-Kindt*, are still 796
worn by the man and woman during Medicine- 301
Lodge ceremonies. They consist of a thong with 531
four blue beads strung on each side, representing
the clear sky. A white dentalium shell is strung [822]
between the beads to represent the purity and
holiness of the Spirit World. A thin braid of hair [237]
hangs down from the center of the necklace to
represent the Power of the People. The holy [793]
woman may make extra necklaces to transfer to
anyone requesting such a spiritual Medicine, as
the wearer is believed to possess the spiritual
power of the holy ceremony. Our last holy
woman, old Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, transferred a
holy necklace to SikskiAki when we attended the
recent Okan among the Southern Piegans.

When the 1892 ceremonial transfer and 793
painting were done, and the women were dressed 796
in their holy headdresses and elk robes, they were
ready to go outside and perform the main cere- [292]
monial functions. From within the tipi in which
Wilson was an observer, came a procession led by
No Chief, who was the priest. Behind him came
the three black-painted husbands, wearing black
blankets over their heads. And behind them came
the holy women, each one following the woman
whose Natoas she had just taken over. From the
other holy tipis came similar processions.

Wilson's narrative continues:

[p. 28-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Very slowly they walked to the south side of 793
the half-built medicine lodge, stopping at intervals 796 ●
to pray, but not loudly. They circled the [782]
*medicine-lodge once, taking the course of the
Sun, and then sat down in a shelter which had
been constructed for them to the West of the
medicine lodge.*

This shelter was made up of travoix poles [346]
*and canvas. Those using it sat facing the sacred
edifice. The shelter was about 60 feet long, and* [114]
*sitting in a row, extending from one end to the
other* [were] *seven parties of people, each composed
of the woman who had sold her O-Kon
[Wilson should have said Natoas; he uses the
word O-Kon in various ways, although it actually
describes only the Medicine Lodge ceremony
itself], her husband, the new O-Kon, and her
husband. . . . In front of these people and about* [415]
20 feet from them was a row of 7 parfleche bags, 4 [778]
*placed on each side of a central space through
which those going and coming passed.* [The bags
belonged to the holy women and contained the
dried sacred tongues.] *In front again of this entrance* [237]
*space was deposited a green beef hide
wrapped in a black blanket; the use of the hide
will appear later on.*

While the holy people prepared to receive 796
those who wished their blessings, the Horns Society mounted horses and rode to the cottonwood grove to obtain the sacred Center Pole. The party rode off as if headed for war and approached the chosen tree as they would a powerful enemy. After brave deeds were recounted and prayers for success were made, the tree was cut down amidst shooting and shouting. While the Horns were preparing to haul the sacred tree back to camp, Wilson made these observations:

People in camp now began taking down the 796
offerings before mentioned from the tops of their 793
lodges, and soon a woman came to the O-Kon, 782
leading a child and bearing her offering. She went 276

[p. 28-B]

to one of the old O-Kon [priests] and reluctantly 796●
[she was probably shy before the holy man] knelt 793
in front of the man and handed him a filled pipe 782
which she had brought, and deposited the offering
at his feet. The vendor took the pipe and 276
pointed the stem to the Sun and prayed in favor of the suppliant, who knelt through the prayer with bowed head. At the end of the prayer the latter passed her hands to head of the prayer-maker and down his shoulders and arms to the hands, taking the pipe from him and laying it
aside. The old man's wife then painted a black [302]
ring around the face of both mother and child and her husband. The old man took up the offering and made a pass with it down each side of the woman's body; the latter turned about without rising and the offering was leaned against her back at which she arose and departed. Four members of the Society, "Crazy Dogs," were sitting near at hand, their duty being to light the pipe. One of these now came and took the late suppliant's pipe from [the] old man who handed it to him, went out to the front of the enclosure, past the before-mentioned hide, to a little fire built there for the purpose, and lit the pipe. Puffing it on the way to keep it from going out, he returned it to the old man who first took a few whiffs himself, then handed it to the black man of his set who smoked and handed it around.

When the pipe was emptied, it was passed out to someone of the owner's family waiting for it. That is a close description of the mode of giving the offerings, which were brought by all sorts of people, young and middle aged. Some were boys, some were girls, bringing children with
them, and others alone. All were dressed in their [292]
best clothing. Some boys wore their fathers' war
bonnets. Many sacred pipes were brought, the 796
young men "attendants" were called upon, but 276
the pipe bearer himself took the pipe to the fire, 778
after he was painted, the old man going with him to pray as he lit it for the other. The bearer of the pipe now presented the mouthpiece to each man

and woman in the row of O-Kons and then to 796 ●
everyone sitting outside. Great rows of people 276
were sitting in a half circle on either side of the 778
shelter. Each person to whom the pipe was presented took 4 draws only. These sacred pipes were always passed a long time after they had ceased to emit smoke. They seemed to go out before many people had smoked.

As is the case with our People now, anyone 796
in camp could make an offering, a symbolic gift to 793
the Holy Spirits—to Sun, Moon, sky, stars, birds, 782
animals. The offering would be brought to the
holy people by a family member. At this stage of [776]
the Medicine Lodge ceremony, these holy people were thought to be in strong communication with the Spirits. Each person bringing an offering selected one of the holy people waiting in the Sun shelter for this purpose. The chosen holy person would then pray to the Spirits on behalf of the offerer. Later, all the offerings would be brought to the Medicine Lodge and tied, permanently, to the lodge's Center Pole.

Families keeping the tribe's sacred Medicine 796
Pipes and Beaver Bundles had the opportunity for 778
an unusual and powerful spiritual experience during the Medicine Lodge ceremony. Only at this 276
time were these sacred Pipes fitted with bowls for smoking; at no other time were they smoked. The Owners of the sacred Pipes gathered their families
inside their lodges. Usually, past Owners were [533]
present, especially if the current Owner did not know the Bundle's songs very well. There are songs to sing while opening the Bundle and many more songs to sing afterwards, when the People pray and dance with its contents.

After incense was made, the leader of the [302]
opening painted the Owner's family with Medicine Pipe symbols on their faces and wrists. The sacred Pipestem was taken from its cloth wrapping and carefully laid on top of the Bundle. At this point the sacred Bowl was removed from the
Bundle and filled with ceremonial tobacco. With [782]

a prayer for success and good thoughts, the Bowl 796 ●
was fitted to the Stem. The Owner took hold of 778
the Pipe—one hand on the Stem and one on the 276
Bowl. It would have been a bad sign if the Stem
became separated from the Bowl during the rest [782]
of the ceremony.

With the guidance of some old man, the Owner took his sacred Pipe outside. He was followed by his family, all wearing blankets or [292] shawls, as a sign of modesty during holy occasions. The old man would call out, "Make way, People, here comes the bearer of a sacred Pipestem. Give him your respect." Quickly, the People would move aside, leaving a clear path for the bearer to walk, straight to the holy people's shelter.

As Wilson stated, the sacred Pipe would first be offered to one of the priests. [793] A helper from the Crazy Dogs Society would hold a glowing stick into the Bowl while the priest puffed on the mouthpiece. The Owner, holding Stem and Bowl in his hands, would offer the Pipe among the people, who placed their lips against the mouthpiece to smoke it. They would not hold the Pipe, [783] not being purified with the sacred incense, and not trained in handling it. Some people would brush their hands reverently over the sacred Stem and then down their bodies, taking its ancient Holy Spirit within themselves. For many, this was the only chance to be in the presence of one of the tribe's sacred Pipes and to give their prayers directly to the Holy Spirits within it.

Wilson noted on his watch that not quite 796 two hours had passed since the Horns Society left camp to go after the Center Pole:

> *Offerings were still being brought when, at 4:30, appeared in sight those with the centre pole. They came in a great procession, scores of*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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778
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Medicine Pipe Owner offering smokes from his sacred Pipe to those gathered outside the Medicine Lodge of 1907. (Van Wangen)

[p.30-B]

mounted men and women accompanying them. 796 ●
All[A] *had wreaths of green leaves upon their heads* [292]
and were singing the same song referred to before.
The pole, a large cottonwood tree, was brought [924]
on a wagon followed by many travoix loaded with boughs. The procession came around the back of the shelter and stopped at front of the medicine lodge, where they unloaded the pole, as related.

The Center Pole was unloaded from its 796
wagon inside the unfinished Medicine Lodge. Its 346
butt end rested on the ground near the hole it 281
was to go in; its forked end was propped up in the air so that it could be lifted easily later. But before that, the ceremony known as "cutting the hide" had to be performed. The green, or raw, beef hide mentioned earlier was cut round and round into a long, narrow strip. This strip was in turn cut into lengths for tying together the poles of the Medicine Lodge. Since these strips were to hold up the Temple of the Holy Spirits, a strong man was needed to ensure that the hide was
properly cut. In the long-ago days, the hide-cutter [555]
was a man known to have performed at least four brave deeds. Recently, an old man who had committed such deeds came forward and recounted them while holding up the hand of the hide-cutter. After this, a former hide-cutter painted his successor and prayed for him.

Roached Mane, who had been hide-cutter at the Okan previous to 1892, sat before the uncut hide, waiting for someone to come forward and accept the duty from him. Members of the Horns
Society approached him and began singing and [555]
dancing, while "one of their members, Old Bull Horn, counted 4 coups." The coups represented brave deeds such as touching an enemy, stealing a horse or weapon, or taking a scalp.

A, [i.e., members of the Horns Society--Analyst]

[P.31-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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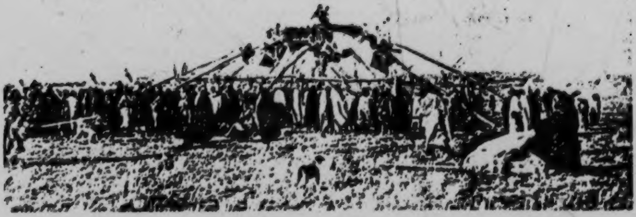


Raising the Center Pole in 1892. The Pole has just dropped into its hole. In another moment the rafters will be pushed up into the crotch and tied in place on the surrounded framework. (R. N. Wilson)

[P.31-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

At last "Gambler" came forward and began to 796
take off his clothes. Calf Shirt [who had the [292]
Power of Rattlesnakes] painted him red all over
and dressed him in new . . . . garments. Gam- [302]
bler's relatives now brought in piles of goods and
put them on the ground as presents to Roached [431]
Mane, [who] produced a knife, which was painted
red, and placed it in Gambler's hand.

During the year previous to the Okan, a 796
number of women had vowed to "feed Sun" 778
some of the sacred tongue. These women wanted 782
the inspirational power obtained by taking part in
the Medicine Lodge ceremony, but were not able 237
to take on the responsibility of holy women. At this stage these women came forward, accompanied by the person for whose benefit they first made the vow—usually a child or some other relative.

A number of virtuous women in the tribe had during the year vowed to distribute the sacred tongues, which duty can only be done by such women. These now came forward and opened up the sacks and each took out a number of pieces. Each walked out to where she could see the Sun, and pinching off a little piece of the dried meat, held it up and prayed aloud. At the conclusion of her prayer each put the little pieces of meat into the ground at her feet, giving it to her mother the Earth Person [as] a duty.

While the virtuous women held up pieces of sacred tongue, they usually called out something like this: "As I have lived a pure and honest life, I feed you this piece of sacred tongue, our Sun, and ask you to keep my family safe and healthy." After finishing their prayers,

These women, assisted by some men, then [262]
distributed to the assembled populaces all of the sacred tongue meat. Nearly all of the recipients prayed where they sat and put a little into the earth as before.

[p. 32-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Lazy Going Man's 2 children were brought 796•
in and painted, then both were mounted upon a 431
horse. Their father stood up and presented a rifle 852
to the outgoing "hide cutters" party by laying it upon the ground. His wife and others also made various presents of lodge furniture and wearing apparel.

Lazy Going Man was a close friend of Gambler, the new hide-cutter. By contributing pres- [424]
ents to the past hide-cutter, he was helping Gambler assume his new duties. At the same time, he obtained the right to help his friend with
the sacred hide-cutting. Having his children [302]
painted was to give them the inspiration to look for success in later life.

The hide was then uncovered and spread 796
out; Gambler stood up before it and made a 281
speech. He, Strangled Wolf and Lazy Going Man [555]
each counted 4 coups . . . holding the knife in hand as he did so. . . . Gambler, assisted by others, cut up the hide. Beginning at the tail, he cut around the edge and continued cutting until the whole hide was made into a single, long thong about an inch in width, the tail being one extrem-
ity. To the tip of the tail was tied an eagle tail [237]
feather. The offerings were now all brought from
where they had been piled behind the A:Kax [782]
[Medicine Lodge] and were tied to the ends of all the rafters. Many of the offerings were also tied to the [top] end of the centre pole, as it lay, and others were wrapped and tied about the
middle. . . . The tail end of the raw hide was [346]
now pulled along and made fast to the top end of the centre pole, in such a manner that the ox-tail [beef hide] would hang near the ground when this pole became erect. The raw hide was then all cut into lengths sufficient to tie the smaller poles together . . . and several men went to work tying them.

The tail left hanging down from the Center 796
Pole represents the tail that hung from the bot- 346
773

[p. 32-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

tom of the rawhide rope Morning Star made for 796
his wife—in the very long ago—so that she could 346
come back down to her home on Earth and bring
the Medicine Lodge ceremony to the People. [773]

A strange sight next appeared. Four processions of young men approached from the lodges, one from each of the cardinal points. Each procession was made up of pairs of young men, walking, each pair behind the other. Each man held aloft a lodge pole, which was strongly connected at the top to the pole of his companion. So in all 4 of the processions, the poles of every pair of young men were tied together, a foot and a half or two feet apart. They approached a few yards at a time until, when within 50 or 60 yards of the Sun-Lodge, they changed their formation from column to line. This resulted in the ends of their 4 lines uniting so that they, as a whole, formed a large circle, the centre of which was the half erected medicine lodge. The completion of the lodge by raising the heavy timbers in place [with their lodge poles] *was the errand of all these young men.*

We are here in the midst of a symbolic battle. The young men with their lodge poles represent the warriors of the tribe, the tribe's defenders, carrying their weapons. The warriors are about to converge upon the Center Pole, representing the enemy, and overpower it by raising it up. This is symbolic of the People's power to triumph in battle. The holy people wait by the Center Pole to lend their spiritual power to the
victory. The husbands wear the black paint worn [302]
by a victorious war party. [822]
Completing the Medicine Lodge follows:
[727]

The A-Kax [holy party] *now left their positions and entered the circle; the black men each* [782] *carried the scalps tied to a short stick, climbed upon the resting centre pole and, all bending their heads close to the top and covering their heads with their blankets, prayed silently. At the*

[p. 33-A]

796 346 end of this prayer, they jumped down and the circle of young men closed in amid deafening yells and attacked the centre pole with their poles. Each pair worked together. Placing the connecting cord against the pole, most of them pushing from the under side, they soon had it upright in its hole, being assisted at first by some other men who put their shoulders to it. Next they attacked the rafters which were lifted up. The butt end of one of them was placed upon the centre of each stringer and all the small ends bearing offerings were resting in the fork of the centre pole. The butts were tied in place with raw hide, the whole being completed in a very short time to the satisfaction of the Indians, who consider the completion of the lodge a cause for joy.

796 793 The vows of the holy women were completed once the Center Pole was up. Having made their sacrifice to help build the Medicine Lodge, they returned to their tipis and removed their sacred outfits. Their husbands entered a sweat lodge where the husbands of the former holy women ceremonially wiped the black paint from their "sons" with handfuls of sage. The sacred objects used by the men were passed outside during the sweat bathing. After all the holy people had returned to their own lodges, the former Owners of the Natoas Bundles showed the new Owners how to pack up the sacred articles, and gave them final instructions for everyday care. By this time it was probably dark, since the Center Pole is usually raised as Sun sets. Relatives of the holy people brought food, since the period of fasting was over.

796 346 [824] On the following day most of the young people and many adults were busy in the forenoon bringing the cottonwood boughs, with which to cover the sides of the sacred lodge. For 4 or 5 hours previous to 1 o'clock, mounted processions continually were arriving in camp, singing, shooting and shouting. The women formed a considerable proportion of these, many having travoix attached to their horses, loaded with

boughs. At 1 p.m. the Lodge was quite completed 796
and quietness reigned in the camp, broken only 346
by the occasional shouting of some chief calling [203]
guests to a feast, or a caller assembling the members of some fraternity.

With the completion of the Holy Lodge, the 796
participants returned to their own lodges to await the next ceremony which was, in effect, the start of the second half of the Okan. The first four days had led up to the construction of it; the last three or four days were taken up with ceremonies within it.

The next part of the Okan began when two [237]
men came out of their lodges wearing sacred dress
and carrying fans of eagle wings and boughs of [924]
creeping juniper. Four old men came behind [533]
them with hand drums, singing a sacred song.
The two men, known as the Weather Dancers, [534]
danced forward to the rhythm of the song, at the [237]
same time blowing on whistles of eagle bone, which stuck from their mouths.

The Weather Dancers are the priests for the 796
activities that take place inside the Medicine 791
Lodge. The People placed their spiritual faith in
these men, who were considered to have Power to [789]
attract good weather to the encampment. It was [787]
up to the Weather Dancers to decide how many more days the Okan ceremonies would continue, and they would remain within the Medicine Lodge throughout that time to fast, pray, and dance. It is as a result of their duties that the Okan is often referred to as a Sun Dance.

The only clothing the Weather Dancers usu- 796
ally wore were moccasins and breechcloths. They 791
painted their bodies with designs shown to them 292
in dreams or given by some previous dancer. [302]
Around their heads and wrists they wore wreaths
of creeping juniper boughs, and eagle bone [787]
whistles hung from thongs around their necks. [924]
On their backs they sometimes wore white robes,
pinned together in front of their necks. They [237]
tried to concentrate their thoughts on the Holy [534]
Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on Earth.

[P-34-A]

Power that Sun passes on to all the creatures on Earth. 796 791

On their way to the Medicine Lodge, the Weather Dancers made four stops. At each stop they intensified their holy thoughts and danced more vigorously, while the drumming and singing continued behind them. The People stood quietly before their tipis, watching the brightly colored dancers make their way around the north side of the Medicine Lodge and then enter through the large opening on the east side of the cottonwood boughs. [535]

The Weather Dancers entered this sacred booth and sat down, facing the Center Pole and the entrance of the Holy Lodge at the east. The holy people followed and sat down on their robes at the northwest side. The drummers sat on logs at the southwest side and were soon joined by several old men who knew the ceremonial songs. People approached the Holy Lodge to see inside, so that the entrance was blocked. Others found places around the outside where they could look through.

According to our Old Man, who was a young boy at the 1892 Okan, the head Weather Dancer was Ki-soum, or Sun, still remembered as one of our finest holy men. Wilson often refers to this man by the name Moon. The other was a former Weather Dancer who had vowed to help Ki-soum. Among the small bundle of things Ki-soum had brought into the Weather Dancers' booth was a black-bowled pipe. He filled the pipe with sacred tobacco and handed it to the drummer nearest the booth. The drummer raised the stem, prayed for the spiritual success of the People, lit the pipe, and passed it among the other drummers to smoke. It was then passed into the booth, where the Weather Dancers smoked quietly. [276] [778] [782]

When the pipe was smoked out, Ki-soum signaled the drummers, who began to drum and sing a Weather Dancers song. The Weather Dancers placed their bone whistles between their lips and stood up. Raising their heads so they [533] [534] [535]

[p. 34-B]

could see the top of the sacred Pole, they blew on 796
their whistles with short blasts while they 791
bounced up and down with the drum beats.

Before them[A] was the center of the Earth, [533]
marked by the sacred Center Pole. From Earth it [534]
reached to the heavens above, symbolically con-
necting the two into one Universe. The bright [535]
colors of the many offerings fluttered at the top of
the Center Pole, marking the place where Sky 796
and Earth met. The fork joint represented that all 772
the directions in the Universe are joined together by the Great Spirit to make One. The prayers of the Above Spirits were represented by Wind, which could be heard all around; the prayers of the Earth Spirits were represented by the rustling of the green leaves on the cottonwood boughs.

"Cheep—cheep—cheep—cheep," sounded the 791
eagle bone whistles as the Weather Dancers 796
rocked on the balls of their feet, accompanied by
the rhythm of the drumming and chanting. If a 535
cloud threatened to hide Sun's light, the intensity 789
of the dancing and music increased until the cloud passed out of sight.

I believe in this Power of Universal Har- [123]
mony, for I experienced it myself during the Piegan Medicine Lodge celebration of 1972. The former Weather Dancer, an old man named Makes Summer, taught me the way to use spiritual power passed on from the long-ago. As dark rain clouds threatened overhead, the singing and dancing became more and more intense. The clouds finally separated and Sun shined brightly until the ceremony was over; not until then did it begin to rain. No one remembers a Medicine Lodge ceremony that was ever disturbed by rain.

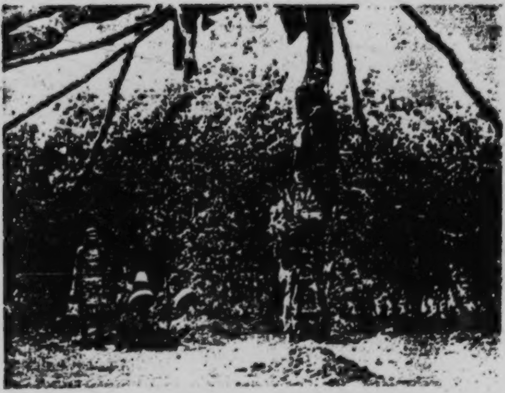
Wilson brought his notebook and joined the 796
crowd around the Holy Lodge: 431

A,[i.e., the Weather Dancers--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35-A]

[p. 35-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



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778
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796 ●

Inside the 1892 Medicine Lodge. In the foreground is the pit where the sticks representing war adventures were burned. Behind the pit is the sacred Center Pole, with offerings tied to it. The man standing is believed to be the Weather Dancer, Ki-soum. The others are his drummers. (R. N. Wilson)

346
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Outside the 1892 Medicine Lodge, while ceremonies take place inside. (R. N. Wilson)

[p. 35-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Late in the afternoon those members of the 796 ●
Pigeon Society [who were able to relate personal 431
exploits of bravery] formed a line, standing. Two
of them rode a single horse; the others were all [575]
dismounted. They began to sing and approached [555]
the A-Kax and entered, then took a position in
two rows; the riders rode their horses once completely
around the enclosure, passing at the back
between the banner [Weather Dancers' booth]
and centre pole. Four Tom-toms [hand drums] [539]
and the same number of rattles were obtained for music. While the Pigeons danced and sang, relatives brought in piles of goods which were deposited at the feet of the dancer related to the giver. These presents were all gathered up by an old man and distributed to other people. Eagle Ribs [the uncle of our Mokakin] was taken by the arm and led out to the centre and left standing there. Pails of food were now brought in; generally a row of 4 or more pails were strung upon a stick and carried in by two squaws, each taking an
end of the stick. Squaws [a foreign word to us, [601]
even though Wilson uses it often; a man calls his wife Aki, "woman," or Nitokeman, "my wife"] always put down the pails, and either left the enclosure or joined the crowd of women at the south and near the entrance. The food was distributed to all the people who had seated themselves
inside, with bowls in front of them. Next [276]
pipes were filled, presented to an old man, blessed and smoked. They then danced three times without
changing their positions in rows. Bob Tailed [782]
Chief [then a young member of the Pigeon Society—he later became one of our holy leaders] went and placed a stick at the feet of an old man, which meant that he had given him a horse, at which the old man stood up and made a long blessing over the liberal young man, whose wife came forward and shared it with him. A 4th dance was indulged in at close of which they danced out. Time was 8:10.

The Pigeon Society was composed of young 575
men who had few exploits to their record, and so 561
796

[p. 36-A]

they were the first to perform in the Medicine 575
Lodge. This was an opportunity for the societies 561
to inspire the People, as well as themselves, with 796
their ceremonies and comradeship. And it was an
honor for members to donate food to the gathered [431]
People, who were given good thoughts [556]
through the gesture.

After the presentation, the People were asked 796
to return to their lodges and spend the night
quietly. There was to be no noise, especially near [784]
the Medicine Lodge. The Weather Dancers were [791]
fasting and meditating on the Holy Powers
created by the sacred encampment. [785]

THE SELF-TORTURE CEREMONIES

Another group to participate in the Medicine 796
Lodge ceremony came to fulfill their own vows. 782
These were men who had made vows of physical 785
sacrifice in exchange for spiritual help from Sun. Such vows were usually made during dangerous situations, perhaps on the hunt or warpath, when death seemed imminent. A vowing man might call out to Sun, "Help me, O holy Sun, my Father, and let me see you again with happiness. Give me your strength so that I may survive this danger, and I will give myself to you. I will help my People to remember your Holy Power by performing the physical torture dance during the next Holy Lodge ceremony of our People." Fulfilling such vows was truly a Sun Dance, and inspiring to those who watched.

WILSON'S OBSERVATIONS: 1892

The last time self-torture vows were fulfilled during 796
a Blood Medicine Lodge ceremony was in 785
1892. The days of warpaths were already past. Although 657
our young men still went on regular horse
raids then, there was seldom any fighting, even [178]
when the raiders were caught. Government agents [721]
knew that the self-torture ceremony inspired a [182]
spirit of adventure, which they opposed. Follow- [177]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37A]
[P. 36-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
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304

Goes to War suspended from the Center Pole during his self-torture. The man standing near him is his advisor, who underwent this ordeal at some earlier time. (R. N. Wilson)

A vow of self-torture being fulfilled during an earlier Medicine Lodge Ceremony in 1887. A shield is suspended from the dancer's back by thongs. (W. H. Boorne)

beating; he danced in a curve about the north side 796
of the centre pole, blowing the whistle also in 785
time and looking up at the top of the lodge,
throwing more and more of his weight upon the 304
ropes [until] his body was almost at right angles [535]
to the ropes, tied far above him. As his weight
seemed insufficient to break loose the skin [533]
through which the skewers were, a man sitting
near quickly got up, threw his arms around the
young fellow's body, pulled backwards and tore
him loose. He lay upon the ground while one of
the attendants [not a priest or a doctor] cut away
the torn end[s] of skin which were handed to
him. He then arose to his feet and buried the said 796
piece of skin in the loose dirt at foot of sacred 785
pole, took off all the sage ornaments and hung
them upon the offerings of the sacred pole, and
went home. A young man named A-suc [Goes to
War] was also put through the torture and I succeeded
in getting a pretty fair photo of him, an
instantaneous one taken as he was on the jump in
his dance. When these young men are having the
incisions made in their breasts, they often whisper
to the operator stating how they wish the cuts to
be, deep so that there will be difficulty in getting
loose, or shallow cuts that will be easily broken.
Those who do the cutting make it a rule to do the [554]
reverse to what they are requested, thus they reward
the stout-hearted who say "cut deep" and
punish the cowards. The Ats-Knax Society [Itskinaiks, [575]
or Horns] furnished the music for this day. [533]
They sat at the back of the enclosure upon the
South side of the banner; the other, or North
Side of the banner was occupied by the women
who "made the lodge" and others.

Calf Tail and Goes to War were the first two dancers to fulfill their vows to suffer before the People, as just described. They had promised to "give themselves to Sun." Thus, the long rawhide ropes were attached to their breasts so that as the flesh opened, the blood nearest their hearts would flow upon the ropes. From there the Spirit

Powers took it up to the top of the Center Pole, 796
where the ropes were fastened, and then up to 785
Sun, who was looking down on the ceremony.

The remainder of that day was taken up with 796
ceremonies that helped the People learn some of
the history of their tribe. Men came forward who 536
had personal exploits, mainly war adventures, to 537
their record, and proceeded to tell their stories, 555
giving a demonstration of the main scenes. Wilson for some reason calls these men dancers.

The dancers, one at a time, now related their heroic deeds in a theatrical manner, during which they would go through all sorts of antics in imitations of the original event. Some built little lodges on the ground and alongside were placed two or three little boys, who represented so many picketed horses, and led them away or else made a bold dash and captured them that way. In other cases, the boaster would enlist the services of some of the other dancers and would divide them into two parties, one representing the enemy, the other his own. The squad, acting as the enemy, would stoop low behind an imaginary shelter and watch the others approach the horses to be stolen. When the horse-thieves were almost upon their prey, the others would suddenly jump in sight and fire off their guns in the air, then a sham battle would ensue during the cause of which one or more of the participators would fall as dead, and undergo the operation of scalping, and in some cases have both hands cut off, showing how the killed had been used in the fight long ago. Each man who entered the O-Kon as a member of a dancing party related his deeds of valor during which his relatives brought in goods and presented them to the sacred gathering. The people present took more than a usual interest in certain of these rehearsals which were those of events in tribal history dear to the memory of all. This pride was, of course, more noticeable during the narratives of the older men. A comical feature of these performances appeared in their manner of

showing mounted men as distinct from those who 796 ●
had fought on foot. The former would thrust a 536
stick between his legs with the end trailing on the 537
ground and ride it about the arena exactly like we 555
used to in our boyhood. This absurd pantomime was performed numbers of times by middle-aged Indians who in their ordinary life were most circumspect in matters of behaviour. Several hours were spent thus, until the last warrior had related his glorious deeds. Much ammunition was shot off and all kinds of trophies were captured from bogus enemies. Each here began his story by mounting a horse and riding it around the inside of the sacred lodge, singing his war song and shouting. He would then dismount, hand the horse to someone outside, and enter upon the details of his past.

Thus ended the second day of activities inside of the Medicine Lodge. The Crazy Dogs and the Black Soldiers, both leading societies of brave warriors, have always had a great many exploits to relate during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Two more societies were to tell and perform their stories during the next several days. Meanwhile, the camp was silent again. [575]

On the next day, Sunday, no one entered the structure until late, 4 or 5 o'clock in the evening [the Weather Dancers were inside, of course]; [then entered] *the principal heroes in the society called "Crow Carriers." Their performances were much like the former, and one used a wagon to illustrate how he had killed some Cree he found travelling in a cart. This exploit could not be acted inside the O-Kon, so he and those who assisted him went outside to the front or East and performed the first part of the tragedy, which ended after a retreat inside the sacred lodge. In this case the boaster took by main force a gun from the hands of a living foe and afterwards slew*
him with a knife. A man, Sum-a-ke, appeared in 796
the torture paint and, after sitting on the ground

A man, Sum-a-ke, appeared in
the torture paint and, after sitting on the ground 796
for a few minutes, was punctured as usual and 785
*fastened to the ropes. I also took his photo but
the Sun was so low that the picture did not turn
out as well as the one the day before.*

The next day of the ceremonies turned out, 796
unexpectedly, to be the last day. Two unrelated 578
incidents caused camp to break: an undisclosed
dispute among the Horns and an unidentified
charge of adultery.

Monday. It was expected that the "Horned [575]
*Ones" would enter today but a dispute arose
among* [them], *one of their members taking
down his lodge, which formed half of the frater-
nal abode, and moving from camp. The night be-* [684]
*fore, a man accused one of the religious women of
the tribe of adultery* [this was a separate affair [793]
from the Horns dispute]. *He claimed he had seen
her at dusk indulging in immoral conduct with a
certain young man, the son of a prominent chief.
This caused a great commotion in camp, which
coupled with the trouble in the Horned Society,
had the effect of breaking up the camp, all dis-
persing to the different villages up and down the
river.*

It may be added that the criminal affair men- 793
tioned, which was for a long time the one inter- 578
esting topic of tribal talk, had a somewhat impres- 627
*sive ending. Sentiment was divided in regard to
the guilt or innocence of the woman, who de-
clared that her accuser was blasting her character
because she had repelled improper advances of his
own. She had hitherto bourne a good reputation;
in fact she had filled positions in religious rites
that only those who solemnly swore to their virtue
can occupy. The people therefore were loath to
misjudge the woman. The old men said, "Time* [784]
*will tell who speaks the truth; death inside of a
year is the penalty which all women pay who
make false vows; the young man commits an
equally serious crime who accuses a good woman
falsely, therefore the liar in this case must die
before the end of a year. It is not a long time to
wait* [and see] *which of them will it be." Strange
to relate, the woman died in childbirth in January
following above incident.*

The disagreements that brought the Okan of 796
1892 to an end did not affect most of the People.
They went back home with the Good Spirits that
had presided over the holy ceremonies. Disagree- [578]
[178]

(Text continued on page 41-A)

[p. 40-A]

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Blood

796
346
782

Robert Wilson standing by the Center Pole of the 1892 Medicine Lodge. The offerings at the top of the lodge remain, but those around the bottom of the Center Pole are missing. None of our People would have dared to remove such offerings, as they are the spiritual property of Sun. Wilson's adopted brother, Mean Bandolier, stands on the right. (R. N. Wilson)

[p. 40-B]

ments among the People were becoming more 796
common by that time, anyway, as their life in [579]
harmony with the Old Ways was being disturbed [179]
by outside interferences, both physical and
spiritual.

SCRAPING WHITE'S AND HEAVY HEAD'S ACCOUNT: 1889

I once asked the Old Man if he had seen the self- 796
torture dancing during the 1892 Okan, among the 852
Bloods. He told me, "I was at that Okan with my 857
parents, I remember . . . but I was too young to
understand what was really going on. Some fam- [124]
ilies had favorite children (Minipokaiks) who
were taken along to holy ceremonies and had
things explained to them. I wasn't one of those.
Most of the kids were expected to play with their
friends and not come near enough to disturb holy
places until they were old enough to take part in
things. I spent most of my time with my partners,
riding across the prairie on my horse and looking
for childhood adventure." Then, sensing that I 796
had hoped for a more exciting answer, he added, 785
"But my stepfather, Scraping White, later told
me about the self-torture dancing. He helped to
make the incisions and gave the dancers encour-
agement. Three summers before that last time of
self-torture he had made and fulfilled a vow of his
own."

I learned that old Scraping White was one of 115
three men who fulfilled his self-torture vows dur- 796
ing the Okan in 1889. Besides Scraping White,
who was then twenty-three years old, there was 785
Tough Bread (also known as Flint and Heavy
Forehead) and old Heavy Head, who was then
twenty. Heavy Head later became the Old Man's
advisor and teacher. In 1947, an anthropologist
named John Ewers recorded old Scraping White's
story about his experience. Scraping White was [164]
then eighty-one years old—a fact that disproves
the common theory that men who took part in
the self-torture did not live long afterward. This
theory might have been true in the long-ago days,

when men were sometimes left suspended from 785
the Center Pole for several days and nights, going 796
without food or water. Scraping White was only 115
suspended for a short time, and was not required 164
to fast at all. Here is his story.

Three of us tortured ourselves in the Sun 785
Dance that year—Tough Bread, Heavy Head, and 796
I. I was the oldest of the three.

I was on a war party to take horses from the [782]
Assiniboine [a neighboring tribe] *when I made*
my vow to be tortured. Shortly before Sun went [726]
down, when we were in sight of the enemy camp, I turned to Sun and said, "I want good luck. Now I go to the enemy. I want to capture a good horse and go home safely. I'll be tortured this coming Sun Dance." As soon as it was dark I went into the enemy camp and took two fast horses out of their corral without any of them knowing it. I had good luck and reached home safely.

Then I told my relatives of the vow I had made. Yellow Horn, an older relative, who had been through the torture before, told me, "Put up a sweat lodge for me and I shall look after you." I made the sweat lodge the very next day.

Not long after that the Sun Dance was held.
The torture took place the day after the Center
Pole was raised for the Medicine Lodge. I was the [304]
first one to be tortured. The torture began about
noon. Old Yellow Horn cut my breasts with an [411]
iron arrowhead and inserted a skewer through the
cuts at each breast. These skewers were of service- [412]
berry wood, flattened on both sides, thinned toward the ends but not sharpened, and about this long (showing two inches with his fingers). *Then sinew was wrapped around the ends of the skewers and they were tied, each skewer to a 4-strand plaited rawhide rope. The two ropes were fastened at their far ends to the Center Pole at its forks.*

I stood up and Yellow Horn told me, "Now [782]
you walk up, put your arms around the Center Pole and pray. Tell Sun, now your vow is being fulfilled." I did just as he told me. Then I stepped

back. Yellow Horn pulled hard on the rawhide 785
ropes attached to the skewers. Then I danced. I 796 ●
didn't dance long before my flesh gave way and
the skewers pulled out. Yellow Horn came to me
and cut the skin that had broken. He trimmed it
off even. Then he gave me the pieces of skin he
had cut away and told me to take them and stick
them in the ground at the base of the Center
Pole, saying, "Now, Sun, I have completed my
vow."

The Old Man said that he often saw on his
father's chest the scars where he had been
pierced, but that old Scraping White suffered no
other permanent injuries from the experience. He
said that his father had asked for deep cuts and
had been fortunate in actually having the mildest
torture of the three. He remembers his Old [115]
People telling that Heavy Head suffered more
than anyone they had ever seen. Here is how
Heavy Head told his story to the same anthropologist:

There were only two of us, Buffalo Teeth, 796
my partner, and I. We went to war together to 785
take horses. At Medicine Hat we found a small 782
camp of Cree half-breeds. It was night when we
saw their camp. It was moonlight. I looked up at [726]
Moon and prayed, "I shall be tortured at the Sun
Dance if I have good luck and get home safely."
Then I stole up to the camp and got one bay that
was tied in front of a lodge without any of the
enemy waking or seeing me. Buffalo Teeth took a
roan. We started back to the Blood camp, traveled [261]
three days and three nights with no food
other than a black rabbit. We got awfully weak
and hungry.

When I reached home I told my story to my 796
father, Water Bull. The old man got up and sang 785
his honoring song. Then he told me, "My son,
you have done something worth doing. You have [554]
made a vow that you will be tortured at the Sun
Dance. You must do it this coming Sun Dance."

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A few days later, I went out to the east point 796 ● *of Belly Butte to fast. While I fasted I dreamed* 785 *that a sacred person came to me and gave me a drum and certain herbs to use for doctoring.* [787] *Then I returned home.*

A short time after that the bands began to come together for the Sun Dance Encampment. I prepared myself to go to an old man named Little Bear, a relative of mine [SikskiAki's great-grandfather], who had been through the torture himself, years before. I filled my pipe and took it to [431] *him. I gave him the pipe and a buckskin horse, and said, "Here is a horse for you. Keep this pipe too. I want you to look after me in the torture." When I gave him the pipe he put it down and went over to the next lodge. There were two old men there, Green Grass Bull and Red Bead. These men were not related to me, but they were both older than Little Bear, and both had been through the torture. Little Bear asked them to* [792] *come to his lodge, to take my pipe and pray for me. After they prayed, they told me not to take any food or water the day I was to be tortured.*

The day before the torture I ate or drank [261] *nothing. Next day I ate or drank nothing until after the torture. However, the three old men gave me some sagebrush to chew.*

I was the last of the three Bloods to undergo the torture that day. Scraping White, who was the oldest, was first. Then Tough Bread, then I. I was the youngest. Inside the Medicine Lodge, on [346] *the west side of the Center Pole and north of the Weather Dancer's arbor, a shelter was built of sticks like a sweat lodge, covered with willow leaves. I went there before noon of the day of the torture. I was laid on my back with my head pointed north. I was barefoot, and wore only a* [292] *breechcloth made from a small red trade shawl purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company. There was a little bowl of white paint and an-* [302] *other of black paint nearby. The three old men painted four black dots, one below the other, under each of my eyes. This was called "tear*

[p.42-B]

paint." If I cried the tears would run down there. 796 ●
Then they painted a double row of six black dots. 785
The rest of my body was painted white, also my [302]
face. They took some of the broad-leafed sagebrush
from the ground inside the sweat lodge and [292]
bound it together, placed a wreath of it around [824]
my head, and bands of it around each wrist and
ankle.

I was taken from the sweat lodge and laid
upon a blanket on the ground at the north side of
the Center Pole with my head to the north, my
feet toward the Center Pole. Other people were
told to keep back away from me. Then an old
man named Low Horn was brought forward. He
counted four of his coups. The three old men,
Little Bear, Red Bead, and Green Grass Bull,
held me—one at each arm, and one at my head.
Red Bead took a sharp iron arrowhead in his [304]
hand, and asked me, "How do you want me to [411]
cut them? Thick or thin?" I said, "Thin." I
learned later that this question was always asked [412]
of the man undergoing the torture before his
breasts were pierced, and the one doing the cutting
always did just the opposite of the young
man's request. So when I said "thin," Red Bead
knew to make his incisions deep. Red Bead gave
four of his own war coups. He made no prayer.
Then he pierced my breasts with the sharp arrowhead [824]
and inserted a serviceberry stick through
each breast. The sticks were not sharp but flattened
at the ends. The other two men held my
arms as he cut and inserted the sticks. Blood
flowed down my chest and legs over the white
paint. Then Red Bead pressed the sticks against
my body with his hands. They turned me around
to face Sun and pierced my back. To the skewers [714]
on my back they hung an imitation shield, not so
heavy as a war shield. The shield had feathers on
it, but I don't remember how it was painted. It
belonged to a man named Peninsula.

The ropes were brought out from the Center
Pole and tied to the skewers in my breasts—right
side first, then left side. Red Bead then grabbed

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the ropes and jerked them hard twice. Then he 785
told me, "Now you go to the Center Pole and 796 ●
pray that your vow will come true." I walked up
there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. [152]
But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the Center Pole I was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the Center Pole. It felt just like the Center Pole was pulling me toward it. I began to dance from the

292
342
531
237
534

Heavy Head, around 1940, carrying his Crazy Dogs Society Rattle, and wearing one of the last weasel-tail shirts to have been made and transferred among the Bloods.

[p. 43-B]

west toward the doorway of the Sun Lodge and 785
back. Then, when the skewers did not break 796 ●
loose, the old men realized that the incisions had
been made too deep. Red Bead came up and cut
the outside of the incisions again so they would
break loose. As I started dancing again the left
side gave way and I had to continue dancing with
only my right side holding. An old man named
Strangling Wolf jumped up from the crowd and
came toward me shouting. He called out four
coups he had counted and jumped on me. The
last rope gave way and I fell to the ground.

The three old men came to me and cut off the rough pieces of flesh hanging from my breasts. They told me to take this flesh that had been trimmed off, and the sagebrush from my head, wrists, and ankles, and place them at the base of the Center Pole. I did as they told me.

Then I took my robe and walked out of the
Medicine Lodge alone. I went to a lonely place
and fasted for a night. I wanted to dream. But I
couldn't sleep because of the pain. At sunrise I [782]
prayed to Sun.

Some time after that I saw a man approaching on horseback. He said, "I'm going to take you home right away." He took me up behind him on his horse and rode me slowly back to camp. My breasts were swollen and hurt. The rider's name was Red Crane. He told me of a mix-up that took place at the Sun Dance over horses stolen from the Gros Ventres.

When I got to my lodge, my mother gave me
something to eat. She and my father told me
what had happened at the Sun Dance gathering—a mix-up between the Mounted Police and
Indians. I had to stay in the lodge several days.
My breasts were so swollen that I could hardly [752]
move. Indian doctors used herb medicines to take [759]
away the swelling and to cure my wounds.

Heavy Head and Scraping White both passed away a few years after their stories were recorded. They were the last of our People who

had undergone the self-torture ceremony. With 785
some variations in the details, their stories are still 796
told whenever our Old People get together to talk
about the past. The mentioned mix-up with the
Mounted Police will be more fully described later
in a story about old Calf Robe, who was the object of the mix-up.

THE 1908 OKAN, SPONSORED BY HEAVY SHIELD

We are fortunate to have Wilson's written ac- 796
count of the 1892 Okan. Without it, many of the 114
details of the ceremony would have been lost to
us. Nevertheless, many details were not recorded
and are lost because he did not understand all
that went on around him. He was given no
Teachings about Medicine Lodge ceremonies.
Among the Old People who were given such 796
Teachings is George First Rider, the son of a 115
priest and doctor. Here is his story of another,
later Sun Dance, as he told it recently.

My grandmother, Catching Amongst, was 796
going to sponsor a Holy Lodge in the year 1908,
but she didn't. Something happened in the family
of the people that were going to transfer the
Natoas Bundle to her. [Probably a death; a mourn- [765]
ing family cannot take part in holy ceremonies.]

If there is no one to sponsor a Holy Lodge, 796
then the Horns Society will look for someone. 575

The Horns Society took one of the tongues [237]
[from the cows that were butchered on ration [531]
day], and the ceremonial leader painted it black.
The Horns Society sang, "The black paint I take.
. . . It is holy."

The seven high-ranking members went out in
a procession bearing the painted tongue. They [292]
all wore holy moccasins, breechcloths, and robes.
The procession led to the east entrance of the
camp circle. They walked slowly. When they got [782]
to the south side, they stopped and prayed. They
stopped and prayed several times as they pro-

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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ceeded around the camp circle, each time waiting 796 ● for someone to approach them. This is what they 575 prayed: "Help, O Sun, may someone take this [782] tongue. O Sun, bless the tongue yourself so that someone may build a holy lodge for you."

The elderly Horns members sang a song of [533] praise for each band in the camp circle—the Fish Eaters band, the Many Children band, and also for the women who sponsor Holy Lodges. . . .

Still, there was no one to sponsor a Holy Lodge. The men continued carrying the tongue around the camp circle. They stopped a little way from the east entrance of the camp circle. They were worried. This was their last stop, the camps of the Lone Fighters band. For this band they [533] sang, "My children, when they were long gone, I was still happy."

The members prayed again and were about to go back to their lodge when a woman came out of her tipi. As she walked toward them, Chief Calf came out and sang a song of praise for the woman. The woman was the wife of Iron Necklace [better known as Heavy Shield]. Her name [795] was Many Kill. She walked straight up until she stood in front of the leader who carried the tongue. She held out her robe in bowl-like fashion. The tongue carried around the camp was held [824] with sage grass and a braid of sweetgrass. It was not carried in a dish.

Many Kill did not say a word; the leader did not say a word. He just gave her the tongue. As he did, the rest said, "Aye," and made a downward brushing motion at the woman, showing their acceptance of her holy effort. She stood facing northeast. She turned to her right and went home. The leader was the woman's father. He sang, "Many Kill Woman—when she started to walk I was very happy."

The People all sang praise. The Horns Society members returned to their lodge. They walked around it from the south side to the north side, in the direction that Sun travels, and then they went inside. Some of them came out and called

[p.45-A]

out invitations: "All you Horns Society members 796
are all invited." The Horns said [to themselves], 575
"Oki, it's us that took the tongue around the camps and we are the ones that will make the payments—Many Kill will just sponsor the Holy Lodge—us, we will make the payments."

The virtuous women, past holy women, were 793
individually invited. They assembled immediately. 796
Many Kill said, "You Horns Society members
will get me a father." Getting a father meant 778
that they would look for someone to transfer a 432
Natoas Bundle to her. She would need dry goods
and horses as payments for the transferral. In the
future, when Many Kill transferred her Natoas [575]
Bundle, she would pay back anyone who had [426]
helped with these payments.

The women who were to work on the tongues all went to the holy woman's tipi. The Horns Society members gathered the tongues, wrapped them in a blanket, and the leader took them to Heavy Shield's tipi. In the tipi, sitting at the back in the place of honor was Wolf Shirt, a respected holy man. The leader told Wolf Shirt, "Come to the Horns Society tipi." When Wolf Shirt went to the Horns, they said, "You will get a father for Many Kill. Who shall we ask?"

Wolf Shirt went out from the Horns Society tipi to tell the one who was going to give up her Natoas. She did not refuse. She said, "I am glad to transfer my Natoas to Many Kill." Wolf Shirt first returned to the Horns and told them, "It is agreed. She will transfer her Natoas to Many Kill." Then he went back to Heavy Shield's tipi
and told Many Kill, "I got you a father." With [361]
that settled, Heavy Shield moved his camp to the other side of the camp circle.

I have heard a lot of Old People say the holy 793
woman's tipi is never pitched on the north side 796
of the camp circle, always on the south side. But if the woman who is going to sponsor the Holy Lodge is from the north side, she will have to move her tipi to the south side.

Heavy Shield's friends took down his tipi. Just [352]

the tipi and bedding were moved—back rests are 793
not used in the tipis of holy women. The tipi has 796
to have beds all around the inside because the [352]
holy men and the holy women gather there and
they take care of the tongues. A holy woman's [353]
travois, all painted, is also moved.

Many Kill covered her head when she took 793
the tongue, and she would not uncover her head 796
from then on. She would not see anybody, and 784
nobody would see her face. Many Kill was a pious woman from the time she took the tongue. Many Kill's bed was made and then she was taken to her tipi by the former holy women. She walked very slowly across to her tipi. She could not look around. If she were going to cough she would cover her mouth with her hand so that the People would not hear her coughing. That is how hard it was to sponsor a Holy Lodge.

So, Many Kill was taken from the north side across to her tipi. The virtuous women walked with her. She sat on her bed. She did not braid her hair. She did not have on wristlets; she wore no necklace and no earrings. She had brought herself into loneliness and she had no material things to distract her.

The tongues had not been prepared before- 796
hand, since no Holy Lodge had been planned. 237
Now they had to be prepared in a hurry. They 252
were sliced very thin while a fire was built in the fireplace. It was a small fire, just big enough to heat the tongues. Tripods were set over the fire where the tongues were hung to dry.

Many Kill was a pious woman from the time 796
she took the tongue. She is a tall woman. She is 793
not fat, just stout. Heavy Shield is tall, thin, and left-handed. He suffered with his wife.

By the next morning the Horns Society prep- [575]
arations were finished. One of the Horns members
was sent to tell the holy woman that the Med- [203]
icine Lodge ceremony could begin.

The messenger didn't have to wear holy moc- [292]
casins. He wore his ordinary moccasins, a breechcloth, and a robe. He ran to the Holy Lodge tipi.

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Before he entered he coughed; the people inside 793
all sat in order. The messenger went inside. He 796
put his robe on the right-hand side of the door [576]
*and he went around the tipi making downward
brushing motions on the People, except for the
holy woman and her helpers. He passed in front
of her and continued to make downward brushing
motions on the men. When he got back to his
robe he picked it up, secured it around his waist,
and sat down. He sat on one of his feet.* [516]

The messenger told them, "I came over to 793
notify you that the Horns Society has finished 796
the preparations." Neither the holy woman nor 575
*her husband spoke a word. The priest spoke, saying
to everyone in the tipi, "Everything is prepared."
And then, someone in the Holy Lodge
who counted the tongue slices told the messenger
there were not enough. The messenger immediately
returned and told this to the Horns. Some
Horns members went out of camp to get more
beef tongues. They brought these tongues to the
holy woman's tipi, where they were cut and sliced
and set to dry.*

At the Horns tipi, they selected their best 796
singers from amongst the members. The singers 575
formed themselves into two rows, the men in one 533
*row, the women in the other. They paraded to
the east side of the camp circle. Then, starting
at the east entrance they paraded by all the camps
within the camp circle. At each camp they
stopped and sang. After singing their song, one* [203]
*of the men called out: "Woo-Ka-Hai! For you
People all to know: after tomorrow a sweat lodge
will be constructed. Nobody is to leave the camps,
so that we will all help with the construction of
the Holy Lodge. We all will work on it after
tomorrow."*

*The reason why the Horns set this date to
build the lodge was so that there would be time for
the newly cut tongues to dry. The tongues were
to be used in two days' time.*

The next morning everything was arranged, 796
and the following morning the sweat lodge was 346
575

[p. 46-B]

built. The young Horns got their saddle ponies 796
and rode down to the river. They gathered one 346
hundred rocks. The rocks were smaller than a 575
folded fist. White flint rocks and sand rocks were
not taken. They picked all ordinary rocks. About
noon the riders were heard returning, singing
plainly. There were no women among the riders.
The riders paraded around the inside of the camp
circle. They all dismounted at the Holy Lodge
tipi and their horses were led away.

The sweat lodge was constructed. There are 796
one hundred willows to a holy sweat lodge. The 346
entrance is on the east side and the exit is on the [824]
west side, just like the daily path of Sun. The
fifty willows on the south side were colored with [531]
real paint [red earth] and the other fifty willows
were colored with black paint. The real paint [822]
represents the day; the black paint represents the
night. The buffalo hides used to cover the sweat [237]
lodge were also colored, the hides on the south
side with real paint, the hides on the north side [531]
with black paint. In recent years the willows and
the canvases are not colored anymore.

In legends of the long-ago, only one rock was used in the sweat lodge. Lately, one hundred rocks were used. In this sweat lodge the rocks were not heated red hot. It was a sweat lodge just to reinforce the spiritual powers.

The buffalo skull, which is offered to Sun, was [237]
laid on a small pile of dirt that had been scooped
out from a hole inside the sweat lodge. It is different [782]
with the Crow Indians, who put their buffalo [171]
skulls by the Center Pole. Buffalo skulls are
no longer left out as offerings. They are put away
for use in the next Sun Dance.

The night after the sweat lodge ceremonies,
the Horns Society members were painted and the 796
next morning they cut down the Center Pole. 346
There were four singers, each with hand drums, 575
which were invented by that time. The Center
Pole was cut down, and as it was hauled to the [533]
center of the camp circle, the Horns Society [534]
members rode on it. A woman member was ap-

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pointed to follow behind. The singers beat their 796
drums as the procession moved along. 346

Many Kill was sitting out in the shade by her 575
tipi. The People brought to her their offerings
and pipes. After they unloaded the Center Pole,
the Horns Society members brought forward to 796
Many Kill their payments for the Natoas transferral. 778
They carried dry goods in their arms and 793
each led a horse to the transferral. 432

The People tied tipi poles together, approximately
a foot down from the top. Every separate 346
band came forward, singing a song with no words. 796
The People all jumped into the Holy Lodge. [533]
Heavy Shield sat on the Center Pole. He had on
a black robe and his face was painted black. He [292]
was blowing on his whistle. As the Center Pole [302]
started to raise, he jumped down, leaving his robe [534]
on the Center Pole. That is the custom.

The Center Pole was raised. Some blew their
whistles while others shot their guns into the air.
Everybody helped set the Pole upright and the
seven rafter poles in place. Two orderlies wearing [292]
crow-feather headpieces brought in the hide [237]
to tie the rafter poles and cross beams. The People
got their horses again and rode down to the
river to cut young trees to cover the sides of the
circular structure of the Holy Lodge. Some riders
attached stirrup-cover decorations. Some wore
fur chaps, even though it was a hot day. Some [302]
men had on facial war paintings. The People [533]
sang a song with no words.

The riders were shooting and shouting. They came back through the east entrance, paraded once around the inside of the camp circle, and then they gallopped to the Holy Lodge. Some were bucked off on the way—the horses shy at the trees dragged by the riders. They raced to the Holy Lodge as a reenactment of the time when the Plains Indians rode into enemy camps at full speed.

The trees were set up against the cross beams of the Holy Lodge. Then the riders went home and turned loose their horses.

[p.47-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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At this point, Many Kill, the sponsor of the 346
Holy Lodge, came out from her tipi and sat in its 796 ●
shade. The Horns Society sat on the east side, the [793]
Braves Society on the southeast side, and the
Pigeon Society on the southwest side. The drum- [575]
ming of the various societies sounded at intervals. [533]
The Holy Lodge was completed.

I, First Rider, have told this story. I am a [115]
Blood Indian.

[p.48-A]

fascinated by Napi's escapades. With a shy smile 538
she added, "Now I know some of those stories 517
that my dad never told me." She was referring to the ribald Napi adventures that were left out of the series when children were around. Wilson recorded his own versions of these naughty Napi stories that I later discovered had been "censored" when I heard the original, adult versions from our Old People.

Ponah told us that her dad's name was Iron, 551
but that he was also called Center Speaker. He died not many years ago at the age of ninety-six. His father was the famous Ki-soum, or "Sun"—the same man Wilson called Moon. Ki-soum was a holy man, a doctor, and a minor chief as head of the Fish Eaters band. The confusion over his name can be explained this way: Although the common word for Sun in Blackfoot is *Natosi*, an older, seldom-used word is *Ki-soum*; and the word for Moon is *Gho-Ghomae-Ki-Soum*, or "Night Sun."

Iron is famous among our People for having 778
been Keeper of more sacred Medicines than any- 422
one else. Bundles of all kinds were transferred to 554
him, and he, in turn, transferred them to others. I asked Ponah which of the sacred Bundles he was best at leading ceremonies for. She said, "Oh no, my dad didn't lead any ceremonies. He was too stingy. He always said, 'My prayers help me. I want to keep them for myself. I don't want to give them away.' That's why he never led ceremonies for other people." Iron's attitude about his prayers was somewhat unusual. He was long known for this philosophy. When his father, Ki-soum, died in 1898, Iron was the likely successor as chief of the Fish Eaters. However, the People of that band chose Eagle Bear instead. Eagle Bear was the husband of Otter Woman, Iron's sister.

One of Iron's brothers took his father's 796 ●
name, Ki-soum. He was a Weather Dancer during 276
Medicine Lodge ceremonies. Another brother of
Iron, Wolf Shirt, was famous for having great [554]
Power with our Medicine Pipes. Many Old

[p.55-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Iron and his last wife, Istsimpski, or "Hateful Face." She was the former wife of Ghost Chest and the mother of Charlie Goodrider. The photo was taken in 1939, a time when the ancient symbols on his beaded rifle were coincidentally used as swastikas by Nazi Germany. (Esther Goldfrank)

People still remember seeing him dance with the 796
sacred Pipestems. He would take the long, deco- 276
rated Stem and toss it up on his head, where it
would stay while he performed the sacred dance
of Medicine Pipe ceremonies. Most people who [784]
dance with a sacred Stem hold it very tightly with
both hands, for it is a sign of impending misfor-

[p.55-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

tune if it should fall to the ground. Wolf Shirt 796
proved his Power by never letting a Stem fall 276
from his head. Mokakin and Ponah have seen [794]
him dance this way with all the Medicine Pipes
still left among our People.

Ponah told us that her father, as a young 595
man, was happily married to two sisters from the
North Piegan divison. After one of the sisters 587
died, Iron began investigating a young Blood
woman for his next wife. The surviving sister be- [586]
came jealous and left him. So he married the
Blood woman. She was the mother of Ponah and
her sister, Mrs. Red Crow. After his third wife
died he married the widow of Ghost Chest. She
was an older woman, called Istsimpski, or "Hate-
ful Face." Her son was Charlie Goodrider, who
was quite a romantic character.

Ponah asked Mokakin to tell us about her 721
father's horse raids. He related the time Iron was
with One Spot and Head Walking when they
raided the Crees. One Spot captured a Cree
Medicine Pipe, against Iron's insistence, while
Head Walking shot a Cree. Iron rode up to the
Cree, dismounted, stabbed the man dead, and
took his scalp.

As we talked, we began to hear singing 533
faintly coming through the rising and falling of
the wind outside. Slowly, the singing grew louder.

[p. 56-A]

115

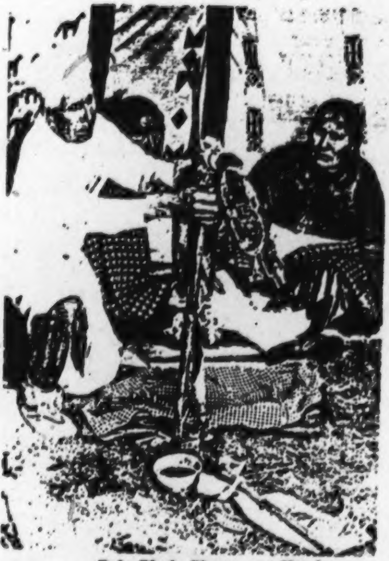
up at Fort Benton, the main trading post for the [443]
Piegans in Montana. He worked as a teamster on [439]
bull trains (wagon trains pulled by bulls) over the
old Whoop-Up Trail between Fort Benton and
Edmonton, Alberta. During these trips, he got to
know the family of a Piegan named Red Tail
Feathers and his two Blood wives, Mountain Lion
Woman and Woman's Word. Among the children
of this family was Bird Rattler and AwokAki,
or "Smart Woman," who became Joe
Beebe's wife. Their only child was Grandma's Joe
Beebe. When the boy was born, AwokAki was [845]
not able to pass her afterbirth. Joe Beebe wanted [759]
to get the white doctor, but the wives of Red Tail
Feathers had no faith in him and insisted on doctoring
AwokAki themselves. She passed away
after six days.

Old Joe Beebe married again, but continued [736]
to provide for his two mothers-in-law. Mountain
Lion Woman raised little Joe for the first seven
years of his life. After AwokAki's death, this old [853]
lady took him to women who had babies so that
he could nurse from them. If they weren't available,
she made broths for him, letting him suck
on her own dry breasts for contentment. His continued
sucking finally caused milk to come from
her breasts, so that she was able to nurse her
grandson for some time. The old lady delighted in
showing off whenever visitors were around that
she could nurse the baby.

When young Joe Beebe was about seven, his [872]
father placed him in the Dunbow Boarding
School, where he stayed for most of the next
twelve years. Many other boys from this reserve
were sent to Dunbow. At the age of nineteen he [464]
returned to the reserve to work as interpreter and
scout for the Mounted Police. Although his [156]
speech and appearance led many to think of him
as a white man, he soon let his hair grow long
enough to braid and began to take part in the
frequent powwows. He became an excellent Grass [796] ●
Dancer, earning the right to dance with the [177]
Forked Stick during the Dog Feast, a ceremony [535]
our People had adopted from the Assiniboines. [554]

[p.58-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



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Bob Black Plume, or Skunk, places the Otter Tipi Flag on its support during its transfer to the Provincial Museum. Mrs. Henry Standing Alone and Mrs. Bob Black Plume look on.

[p.71-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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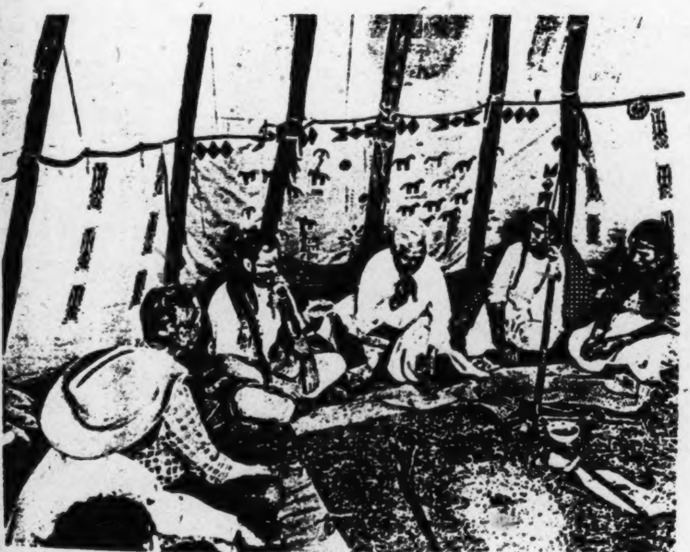
Blood



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Transfer Ceremony of the Otter Tipi Flag. Eric Waterton represented the Provincial Museum at this ceremony. His face has been painted and the sacred skin has been placed over his shoulders to signify that he is the new Owner. On his right is Henry Standing Alone and Willie White Feathers. (Alberta Provincial Archives)

[p.71-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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George First Rider sings one of the Otter Tipi Flag songs for the benefit of the Provincial Museum, which paid him for his help. Next to him is Tom Morning Owl, who sold the sacred flag to the Museum. (Alberta Provincial Archives)

[p.71.c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

taken inside at night. During ceremonies such as 779
the Sun Dance, the Bundle is opened and the flag [415]
tied to an extra-long tipi pole so that it hangs high
above the doorway. As it waves in the air, the [237]
bells jingle, reminding everyone of its presence. [534]
Two of the Otter Tipis last summer had Otter
Flags flying above their doorways. One belonged
to the family of Many Grey Horses, who also
owns a Medicine Pipe Bundle. The other one be-
longed to an old lady named Mrs. White Man
Left. The transfer ceremony for an Otter-Flag [432]
Tipi used to be very involved and took four days [796] ●
to complete.

OTHER PAINTED TIPI DESIGNS

Let me explain some of the spiritual meanings of 532
tipi designs. Basically, the painting on a tipi is 822
divided into three sections: the band of symbols
around the bottom represents Earth; the large
area in the center represents Universe; and the
section at the top represents Sky.

The bottom band is generally painted black,
brown, or red, to represent the color of the Earth,
or else it is painted green to represent the grasses
and trees. Within this band are usually two rows [824]
of discs representing the puffballs that cover the
prairies, considered to be the remains of fallen
stars. This bottom band can be straight and flat,
for the flatness of the plains; topped by semi-
circles, for the rolling hills; or pointed, for the
mountains. In the back, directly opposite the en- [797]
trance, the bottom band often rises in large
square or oval projection, representing the en-
trance to the animal's den the original owner
went to for his dream. In a few cases this large
design represents the boulders on which buffalo
like to rub themselves when out on the prairie.

The large, central area on the tipi cover usually symbolizes the universe in general, and can also represent the particular element in which the dream animal or bird lives. It is here that the major tipi motifs are depicted. The male symbols

[p.72-A]

Both-Sides. It now belongs to his son Jim, our 532
present head chief, who stays in it during our Sun [114]
Dance Encampments. It is painted blue with two
large yellow elk.

The Half-Yellow Tipi, painted half yellow
and half red, also was set up at our last Sun
Dance gathering. It now belongs to Albert Wolf [432]
Child, who plans to transfer it to his son to keep
it in the family. Formerly, a variation of it be- [424]
longed to our Old Man, as well as Mokakin. The
Center-of-the-Universe symbol is drawn at the
rear of the tipi.

Alo[illegible] with his list, Gambler also recorded 773
his stories of the origin of some designs. Here is 539
his version for the Half-Yellow Otter Tipi. 532

Oki! The Half-Yellow Otter design—yellow otters around one side and black otters around the other. This tipi was once owned by a man who lived in the water. One day another man sat nearby on a hill; looking down at the river, he suddenly saw tipis emerge from the water. The man from the water told the man on the hill, "This tipi is mine. Jump into the water and go into it. You are having difficult times. I will give you my tipi." The man jumped into the water, entered the tipi, and the transfer ceremony was performed.

Gambler also told this story:

Oki! The Buffalo Head design. A buffalo bull had been killed and all his insides withered away. One time, a man was out on the prairie during a blizzard, so he slept inside the dead buffalo. During his sleep, the man was told, "Don't worry, nothing will happen to you. When you get back to your home draw my head all over your tipi to remind you of the Power that saved you."

In the Old Days, owners were well familiar 178
with the stories and ceremonies for their tipis. 796
This knowledge gave spiritual help and Power to 532
789

[p.75-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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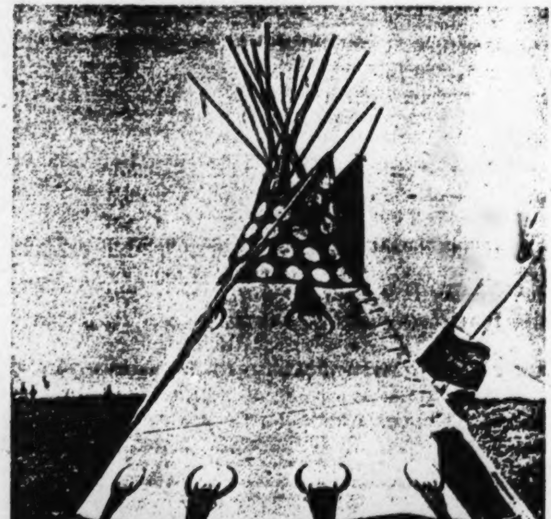
Blood

the tipi's inhabitants. They depended on the tipi's Powers to protect them from enemy attacks and from natural harm, such as wind and lightning. The spiritual protection of the tipi meant much more to them than its physical protection as a shelter. After the People no longer lived daily in tipis, the meanings of the tipi stories of origin and ceremonies began to lose importance. 178 532 796 789



342
532

Buffalo Head Tipi, also known as the Upside-Down Buffalo Head Lodge. Sometime after this 1891 scene, this lodge was transferred to old Shot-on-Both-Sides, who gave it to his relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth, when they took over the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. They later "fed" the lodge to the Crazy Dogs Society, one of whose members, Frank Red Crow, had it transferred to himself. (R. N. Wilson) [424] [432]

[p. 76-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

What Has Become of Our Medicines?

Whenever our Old People gather together and 778
discuss things, the question that always arises is, 178
"What has become of our sacred Medicines, our holy things?" We have only four Medicine Pipe Bundles left. The Horns Society is missing some of its original Bundles, as are the Motokiks. Few of our painted tipis still have their sacred Bundles. Where have they all gone?

We revere these things as other devout people may treasure a family Bible, a family rosary or crucifix, or a family Star of David. These things have great meaning when they have been used by generations of parents or relatives; they inspire and reaffirm.

We don't need Medicine Bundles to sing 778
sacred songs and say holy prayers. We don't need 796
them to follow a simple, holy life. But we do need them for the sacred ceremonies that bring our people together and keep alive the Spirit of our Old Ways. Our People used to gather in spring for Medicine Pipe ceremonies; they gathered in summer for Medicine Lodge ceremonies as well as for the ceremonies of the Horns and Motokiks; they gathered during the fall sacred tobacco harvests for the Beaver Bundle ceremonies; and they gathered throughout the year for ceremonies with Insikims, sacred Tipi Bundles, and other Medicines.

Today, there are more sacred Bundles in 778
178

[p. 79A]

continue their basic daily life. One hundred 778
horses were once given in exchange for a Medi- 432
cine Pipe. In our Old Ways, these goods were 178
considered sacrifices, material wealth exchanged
for spiritual wealth. [771]

Outside influences came to displace this idea
of exchange, trading one item for another, and
replaced it with the concept of "payment." It
wasn't long before most of our People began to
apply this payment philosophy to our Old Ways.
Some began to regard the sacrifice of exchanging [771]
material things for holy things as a form of pay-
ment. As the Old Ways eroded, and the spiritual
meaning of things like these exchanges became
lost, it gradually became fact that our People
bought their sacred Bundles by "paying" for them.
Some of our People even began to believe that
such Power could be bought and sold for pay-
ments in goods.

Today, the transfer of our Bundles is often [796]
purely a material affair: only the barest ritual is
performed to satisfy traditional requirements.
Neither the old nor the new owners make any
spiritual adjustments in their lives in order to let
the Holy Powers help them. The Bundles hang on [556]
walls, more as status symbols than as inherited
Holy Spirits.

Robert Wilson, the trader, was probably the 439
first to gather a collection of old things from our
People, including Medicines. During the years 177
Wilson operated his trading post at Stand Off, it 443
was not unusual for him to accept an old shield, a 778
pair of beaded moccasins, or a pipe and beaded
pipe bag in exchange for new blankets or a gun.
One man whose family was hungry and had no
more food took the sacred Pipestem from his
ancient Beaver Bundle and gave it to Wilson in
exchange for flour. He replaced the sacred Stem
in his Bundle with a broomstick.

Wilson's interest in obtaining the old things
was to preserve them as well as to help out his
friends on the reserve. He never pressured people
to give up their old things. Instead, there were
times when he gave the things back. An example

believed quite secure, since a number of our 778
People who respected its significance longed to be
its Keepers. But that isn't the way it turned out. 114

Just prior to the Sun Dance Encampment of 778
1968 we learned that our Long-Time Pipe was to 439
be sold. Its Keeper, John Red Crane, who had
only recently taken over the Bundle, had been 177
paid $3,000 by the Provincial Museum of Alberta 432
to transfer the Bundle to them at the encamp- 796 ●
ment. Red Crane invited only the members of his
own society, the Red Belts, to the transfer cere- [435]
mony. Actually, they were paid to attend. [575]

The museum promised that the Bundle would be brought back to the reserve each year to be opened. However, since the Bundle had been transferred to an official of the museum, he became the Bundle's spiritual Owner, thereby giving the museum complete control over it. No ceremony could be held without this official at the place of honor reserved for the Bundles's Keeper. This is somewhat like having a family gathering in memory of a murdered grandparent and being required to give the seat of respect and honor to the murderer.

Shortly after John Red Crane sold the Long- [787]
Time Pipe to the museum, he had a strange
dream. The Spirit of the Pipe came to him, say- [761]
ing, "Just as you had no pity for me, I will have no pity for you." He told some of his friends about the dream and that he feared for his life. Not long after that, he was taken ill and placed in a hospital. He spent some time there, much of it in pain, before he died. When friends came to visit him during his final weeks, he was unable to speak to them—all he could do was hum parts of the songs for the Long-Time Pipe. He was not at the Bundle's last opening and he never saw the ancient Pipe again after he sold it.

A year after the transfer of the Long-Time Pipe, the museum decided that a complete record of the Bundle's ceremony should be made. Accordingly, $1,800 was spent to sponsor it; all the participants were paid a salary, like movie extras.

[p. 85-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

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237

A few of the many personal Medicines at the Provincial Museum—skins of a weasel and a muskrat, along with a necklace with deer hooves and sacred bags.

The museum filmed, taped, and photographed 778
the ceremony. Ironically, it may be the best rec- 177
ord ever made of a Medicine Pipe ceremony. The 439
salary motivated some people to attend their first 796
ceremony in years. Others came to take this op- 432
portunity to again pray with our ancient, holy
Pipe. And there were those who were so offended, 114
they passed up this last opportunity altogether.

Our Old Man was at this last ceremony for the Long-Time Pipe. He had once led the ceremony for the Bundle's opening, and knew some of the special songs to be sung at the opening. The [784]

[p. 85-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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114
museum-official Owner offered him $250 to lead 778
the ceremony. In refusing, the Old Man explained 177
the following to us: "Our holy Pipes are very 439
Powerful. It is very wrong to do something un- 796
holy with them. Leading such a ceremony for that
white man, and accepting his money for doing it, 432
would be very unholy for me. No one can ever
buy my holy life with money." The white man [784]
later told people that the Old Man was incompetent and could not have led the ceremony anyway. He eventually recruited another old leader, Brown Chief Calf, to perform the ceremony.

One of the followers of our Old Ways who 778
was most upset by the sale of the Long-Time Pipe 177
was old Many Grey Horses. As a result of some 114
dreams, he and his wife paid a visit to the Pipe's official Keeper. This official recorded the visit and submitted it to his employers as an Ethnological Data Record. This is how it reads in the museum's files:

A Gift to a Medicine Pipe Bundle as a Result of a Visitation from a Supernatural Being

On October 9, 1968, I received as visitors, in my home at Cardston, Alberta, two Blood Indians, Mr. & Mrs. Many Grey Horses, who are current owners of a Medicine Pipe Bundle.

They explained to my wife, who acted as interpreter, that their visit was a serious one and not social.

Mr. Many Grey Horses spoke first. He repri- [796]
manded my wife for not sitting with me during [581]
the recent transfer ceremony of the Long Time Medicine Pipe of which I was the recipient. He said, "When two people are married they must sit together in all holy ceremonies. This is blessing their marriage." He said in the old days, Mrs. Standing Alone, who represented my wife during this ceremony, would have been recognized as my wife. My wife explained that she does not participate in these ceremonies for fear of ridicule. Mr. Many Grey Horses said, "You must not be afraid of that. It is a holy ceremony."

[p. 86-A]

Bundle then had no drums, his friend, Frank 778
Cotton's father, gave him 2 drums and Red 534
Crane's father gave him 2 drums. These drums 432
are not part of the Bundle.

Stephen Fox, who owned the Long Time 114
Medicine Pipe before John Red Crane, still had
the original drums, and after the transfer to Red
Crane, when Red Crane refused the drums, he
consulted Many Grey Horses as to what should
be done with the drums since Red Crane had
refused them. Many Grey Horses then purchased
the drums from Stephen Fox.

Many Grey Horses explained why some 796 ●
people will not attend the transfer ceremonies 432
sponsored by the Provincial Museum. He said
that they believe that the ceremony is holy and 778
that the tape recorder is receiving the prayers and 782
not the Creator. He said that when the bundle is 784
taken down the shaman [Medicine Man] smears
blood clots all over his body and then takes the 114
bundle down. He then stands and prays for the [302]
owner of the bundle, but the tape recorder is
"sucking all the prayers" and the owner of the
bundle who is being prayed for does not get the
full benefit of the prayers and that is not right.

Three years later, in the spring of 1972, SikskiAki 778
and I, with a group of our Old People, 177
visited the Provincial Museum. Upon seeing our
ancient Pipe the Old People were moved, but 114
were also dismayed to see it hanging open inside a
glass case. The Bundle was not closed and the
donated blanket not only was not covering it, it
wasn't even there. Museum officials unlocked the [782]
case so that we could pray with the Bundle and
leave offerings of tobacco in it. Then we asked
them to close the Bundle and remove it from
display. While they debated our request, they
showed us the film of the Bundle's ceremony. Before
we left, the museum people assured us that it
would no longer be left lying open and that they
were prepared to bring the Bundle back to our
reserve for a ceremony at any time. This latter
assurance was a surprise, because the white-man

[p.87-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

7

Our Beaver Bundles and Their Origin

Beaver Bundles were the holiest of all the holy 778
objects helping our People in their spiritual lives. They were the largest, least common, and most complex of all the Bundles, and required the greatest spiritual devotion of their Keepers.

Almost every bird and animal was repre- [237]
sented in the Bundle, either by tanned skins
(from animals specially snared to make their [533]
deaths quick and clean) or by special songs and
movements. In the Old Days, over four hundred [796]
songs were sung when the Bundles were opened. The ceremonies were long and complicated. The Keeper trained constantly, all his life, for such occasions.

In 1909 Dr. Clark Wissler published this ac- 539
count of the origin of Beaver Bundles in an issue 773
of the American Museum of Natural History's
Anthropological Papers. He credited the story to 778
an unidentified Blood man.

Once there was a man and his wife camping alone on the shore of a small lake. [Probably Saint Mary's Lake in Glacier National Park, Montana.] *This man was a great hunter, and had in his lodge the skins of almost every kind of bird and animal. Among them was the skin of a white Buffalo. Because he was always hunting, his wife was often left alone. One day a Beaver came out of the water and made love to her. This went on*

[p. 89-A]

her husband to give the things requested. He also 539
stated the time at which he would come to the 773
lodge to be received by her husband. 778

At the appointed time the Beaver came out of the lake and appeared before the lodge, but, before he entered, requested that the lodge be purified with incense. Then he entered. They smoked. After a while the Beaver began to sing a song in which he asked for the skin of a certain bird. When he had finished, the man arose and gave him the bird-skin. Then the Beaver sang another song, in which he asked for the skin of another bird, which was given to him. Thus he went on until he had secured all the skins in the man's lodge. In this way the man learned all the songs that belonged to the Beaver's Medicine and also which songs belonged to which skins.

After this time the man got together all the different kinds of bird and animal skins taken by the Beaver, made them up into a Bundle, and kept the Beaver Medicine.

Owners of Beaver Bundles were known as 778
Beaver Men. They were always the learned ones 793
among our People. A Beaver Man had to have a
fantastic memory to be able to sing the four hun- [533]
dred or more songs in proper sequence. He had to
be a man who lived very much in harmony with [82]
nature to know the sounds and actions of the many birds and animals within the Bundle, and to be able to coach the participants to repeat those sounds and actions during the ceremonies. Beaver Men learned all the Ways of nature. The People looked to them for knowledge about weather, seasons, plants, birds and animals, and calendar histories (called winter counts) of the tribe.

In the Old Days, a Beaver Bundle contained examples of the most important parts of all our other sacred Bundles—a Medicine Pipe, a Natoas headdress, a sacred tobacco-planting outfit, as well
as all the various skins. As a result, Beaver Men [796]
usually knew all the ceremonies for these other

Bundles, and, therefore, could give Teachings to 778
the People about them. 793

If Medicine Pipe Men were considered
priests among our long-ago People, the Beaver [796] ●
Men must have been thought of as bishops.

Among all the Blackfoot People, the most notable Beaver Man whose wisdom is still clearly remembered was old White Calf, head chief of the South Piegans. He died in 1903. His companion was Mad Wolf, a minor chief who died about the same time. These two Beaver Men were a Powerful team. White Calf's brother-in-law, old Running Wolf, was the most respected Beaver Man in the recorded history of the Bloods. He and another Beaver Man, old Ki-soum (Sun, or, in Wilson's notes, Old Moon) had also made a Powerful team.

THE 1892 BEAVER BUNDLE CEREMONY

In the Old Days, Beaver Bundles were opened 796
quite often, usually after each new moon. For 778
that reason, when trader Robert Wilson wrote
these observations of Beaver Bundle ceremonies,
he recorded them under the title *Moon Dances.*
Although Wilson saw the ceremonies under the [114]
leadership of true Beaver Men, he was too late to
see them when the People were fully aware that
the long ceremony symbolized every aspect of the
Old Way of life in harmony with nature.

A few years ago when I first became interested in the peculiar religious customs of the Bloods, there were two men in camp who were the owners and custodians each of a sacred bundle containing the skins of many animals and birds, as well as a pipe stem and numerous articles, the number and uses of which the following will show. These men are called I-och-Keeme and [793] *during the fall, winter, and spring months they conduct a ceremony of a religious nature, generally of nine or ten hours duration, the time oc-*

[p.90-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

cupied in singing and smoking. The dances are 796
usually held upon the day following the appear- 778
ance of the new moon, but I have known many to
be postponed for different reasons. The tom-tom [534]
is not used, rattles and whistles are the musical
instruments.

Early in the morning the i-o-kinu sends out a
boy or girl, or some member of his household, to
invite whoever he wishes to be present. These are
generally old and middle-aged men, some of
whom bring their wives. At the date of writing I
have attended three "moon dances" and re-
mained to the end of each, with book and pencil
in hand taking notes from which I hope to faith-
fully describe what took place and to give as many
explanations as I have been able to obtain from
the performers. Two of the ceremonies which I 793
have witnessed took place in the home of Run- 796
ning Wolf, one in his house and one in his lodge. 778
The third dance was conducted by Running Wolf
in the house of Three Bulls, another I-O-Kunt
who assisted. Running Wolf is considered the
most proficient of this class in this tribe, but he
has a superior in the person of the Blackfoot
[North Blackfoot] "Owl Child" who was master
of ceremonies upon the occasion that I saw the
dance in Running Wolf's lodge. This superiority [114]
consists simply in a good memory [Wilson had a
tendency to draw conclusions from outward ap-
pearances, not from deep understanding]; 1st in
being able to lead their peculiar ritual all day long
without making errors, and 2nd, in being able to
begin without delay each song in its correct place.
When we remember the length of time the I-O- 793
Keeme sings, and that the songs are about one 796
hundred in number, nearly all of which are never 778
used upon any other occasions than "moon 533
dances," the use of a good memory is evident. [It
is likely that only one hundred songs were sung at
the ceremonies witnessed by Wilson. Even old
White Calf did not know all the songs. However, [789]
due to some taboo, Beaver Men never allowed
anyone to count the songs; if they saw someone

[p.91-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

793
291
302

Ki-soum, or "Sun," the holy man who was also called Moon. (Glenbow Archives)

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counting, they would sometimes mix up their 793
songs to confuse the counter.] Running Wolf 796 ●
and Old Moon have been for years the only two I- 778
O-Keeme in this tribe. [This statement depends [533]
on one's definition of Beaver Man. There were
then a number of Blood men who knew Beaver
Bundle songs and were learning to lead the ceremonies.] Last summer "Three Bulls" purchased a [432]
third outfit from a Blackfoot but during last Winter "Old Moon" sold his to a S. Pegan [South
Piegan]. These transfers are made by a payment
of horses, and a ceremony of installment as is
made in all religious regalia so acquired and disposed of. An Indian buys the regalia in fulfillment [782]
of a vow or promise made in time of sickness.
[This transfer of Beaver Bundles is thought to 793
778
425

[p.91-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

793
302
142

Running Wolf, the holy man and ceremonial leader, in 1913. He was also known as Everyone Talks About. Behind him is his son Cross Guns, or Tom Daly. Next to Cross Guns is his wife, who was the old Mrs. Jim White Bull. On Cross Gun's right is Tom Many Feathers. Sitting next to Running Wolf is his head wife, Nice Owl Woman. (Glenbow Archives)

---

have originated after the Old Days. Originally, a 793
Beaver Man kept his Bundle for most of his life- 778
time. He usually had one or more students to 425
whom he passed on his Teachings over a long period of time. His Beaver Bundle generally passed on to one of these students, who then became the active Beaver Man.]

MOON DANCE, FEB. 3RD 1892, 11:30 A.M.
I will now describe in detail the last dance I wit- 796
nessed. Three Bulls house is a big building about 778
20 feet square, the door and window faces the
South. When I entered, there were present 17 [342]
men and 8 women. Opposite the entrance was a

[p.92-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

space on the north side, against the wall, where 796
laid the mysterious bundle as yet unrolled. Run- 778
ning Wolf sat next to it on the east. Three Bulls
upon the left of Running Wolf and next to him
was Old Moon; the other men sat against the wall
side by side reaching along the east wall to the
door. Upon the right, on west side, sat the
squaws, the wife of Three Bulls being next to the
bundle and the wives of the other two medicine
men, right of her; the other squaws sat in a row
against the wall thus leaving a space for dancing
in the middle of the room. Near the door, in [262]
front of a stove, were several pots of rice, stewed [272]
beef tongues and tea. "Running Wolf" began the
opening songs with gestures and was assisted by
the other men near him.

A long, slender, forked willow was passed [412]
around the room from right to left; each person as
he or she received it, held it up to the cheek and [824]
murmured a prayer. This implement is used to [782]
carry coals from fire to altar as I will show. When
the stick came back to Running Wolf he made a
long prayer and put it down in front of him. In
front of the sacred bundle was the altar, a pyrimid
of clay about 6 inches in height, flattened on top
[to represent a Beaver's home]. Running Wolf
now handed a squaw the willow fork, who ex-
tracted from the fire a red coal which she depos-
ited upon the pyrimid. He next gave her a little [237]
piece of wool or hair which she placed upon the
fork and stood waiting near the stove; Running [533]
Wolf was all this time singing. At end of the song
the door was quickly opened by a woman sitting
near it; the wool was cast from the fork into the
fire and Running Wolf sprinkled incense upon
the coal and he and all those present made signs
of chasing something out of the door.

Singing renewed at once [with] gestures as if
to receive something from the entrance which
they placed upon their breasts. [This is some- [201]
times referred to as the "receiving sign," the
People showing that they take into their hearts
whatever is being sung or prayed about.] Many of [533]

[p.92-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

the songs were started while all the singers placed 796 ●
ends of their fingers to the floor. [These songs 778
referred to our Earth Mother.] A man took the 533
forked stick and brought a coal from the fire to
the altar upon which incense was then made with [824]
sweet-grass. A song in the meantime being sung.
Gesture in this was shading the eyes with hands, [201]
and searching for something on the ground. [This
gesture illustrated the words in one of the opening
songs, in which the Beaver says, "When
spring comes I look outside, and if I see any
enemies I dive back down under the water."]
Running Wolf ended that song with a prayer. [782]

Singing was at once renewed. R Wolf and
Three Bulls' wife, who were the persons nearest
to the bundle, now turned in their seats towards
it. The woman took up the bundle and held it up
a foot or so from the cushion and towards the
altar; it being rather heavy she was assisted by the
woman next to her. R Wolf took up a roll of raw [237]
hides and rattles and held them also towards the [534]
altar. Three Bulls held up a bag containing rattles
and then several songs were sung at conclusions as
the articles were set down again. After another
song Three Bulls' wife unrolled the bundle, while
the men spread a tanned beef hide on the floor,
hair side down. . . . Continuing his songs, Running
Wolf took the bag of rattles and distributed
them to the musicians. [A special rawhide was
spread over the tanned hide. The rattles from the
Bundle may be beaten only on this rawhide.]

In next song, each musician took up one [825]
rattle and held it with handle resting on floor, and
ended the song by imitating the caw of the
crow. . . .

3 songs came next, rattle held as before; at
end of each song they cawed, struck the upturned
bottom of rattle with ends of fingers of right
hand, thus mimicking very nicely the picking and
cawing of the crow. Next was a song during which
they all took up rattles and beat slowly a few
times on the hides in front of them and ended
the song by striking some quick and strong blows,

[p. 93-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

at the same time yelling in low voices. [More 796
songs.] The two wives of the priests took a 778
bundle of sticks from the sacred bundle and 533
swung them to and from the altar, keeping time.
[The cawing and pecking were actually imitations [825]
of ravens, not crows. The rattles were usually [534]
made either from buffalo rawhide or from scrotums
of buffalo. While pecking on the rattles of [237]
buffalo skin, the ravens sang, "The wind is our
Medicine—Powerful dead buffalo we want," referring
to the buffalo carcasses ravens feasted
upon after hunters finished butchering them.
When the singers first took up the rattles and
beat them on the rawhide, they sang, "My rattles
are Powerful." The sticks the women took were
probably extra incense tongs, which were kept with
every Beaver Bundle.]

In fourth song the two squaws got up and 796
danced around the room, one holding a root digger, 778
a stick sharpened at one end and one edge; [535]
this was painted red as were all the implements.
Whistles were produced and tooted during the [412]
following songs. After three more were sung, [531]
Running Wolf took a pipe-stem and got down
upon his knees and bobbed about in which performance [534]
he was soon joined by his wife and [533]
Three Bulls' wife. With their blankets drawn up
around their heads, they kept up those singular [825]
antics, working their hands in imitation of the
beaver. That ended by all three people, 3 times
lowering their heads to the sacred bundle and
grunting several times, and then they took hold of
the outside covers and shook them as if to
frighten away a spirit. During all this time, [522]
"Moons" wife, who is a great wag, was cracking
jokes and making fun of almost every movement
of Running Wolf. [This part of the ceremony, 796
taken with light spirit, often evokes laughter 778
when the Old People leading the ceremony try to 781
imitate small animals at work. The amount of funmaking
at our holy ceremonies would probably
amaze a visitor. But our ceremonies are meant to
bring happiness and harmony, not gloominess and

[p.93-B]

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

fear. When someone is praying, however, there is 796
always silence and respect.] 778
Running Wolf and the two women, singing 781
as they did so, now proceeded to unroll the pipe
from its coverings, which were four in number, 796
the outside one being of red stroud and the others 778
ordinary calico. Outside of each cover was wound 276
a long strand of buckskin, painted red. Singing
ceased long before the unwrapping was finished.
At 1:10, rattles and songs were renewed, but a
man from the number sitting in the house
brought a common pipe ready for lighting and
kneeled in a most solemn manner in front of R
Wolf and presented it to him. The latter dropped
his rattles and took the pipe. When the singing [782]
ceased, he held the pipe with stem to the altar
and made a long prayer, at the conclusion of
which all responded and the pipe was handed
back to the still kneeling man who returned with
it to the other men, who at once lit it and passed
it around to all the men.

This pipe had a stem too long for one man to
light and smoke at the same time. One man applied
the match, while another used the mouthpiece.
[This is the proper way of lighting a pipe,
even if it has a short stem. One man has the duty
of "cutting the tobacco." He sits before the cutting
board, mixes the smoking herbs, fills the
pipe, and lights it for the first smoker.] A three-pound
[a carrot, or bundle of rolled and twisted
tobacco leaves] of tobacco was now divided into
many pieces by the two squaws above mentioned
and a portion given to each person present. The 796
women near th[illegible]or now busied themselves with 778
serving out ste[illegible] tongues into many little pans 264
and bowls; each singer held up a rattle while
Running Wolf sang, and Moon prayed loudly [533]
7 times. Each man and woman present was [782]
handed a single dried sarvisberry which was held
waiting for the proper time to eat it. R Wolf in [262]
next song held his berry to the altar and then put
it in his mouth, all doing likewise. At once he and [533]
the other musicians took up one rattle each and [825]
poked it with fingers of other hand at same time

cawing like a crow. R Wolf then took a piece of 796
meat from the stewed tongues, a dish of which 778
had by that time been placed in front of each 264
person, and after praying to the earth, shoved the [533]
meat between the cracks of the floor in front of
him. All the others prayed and did likewise and [825]
the feast began. [Before we eat a ceremonial meal [782]
we always break off a piece of meat and hold it up
toward the Spirits of the Universe, while giving a
prayer of thanks. At the end of the prayer we say,
"Oki, this piece is for you, Spirits of the Earth,"
thus symbolizing our request that our Earth
Mother share her food with us.]

Singing was renewed at 1:40. Two little sacks 796
containing red and black paint were taken from 778
the outfit, and R Wolf extracted a particle of the 302
Red Paint and held it towards the altar as he
sang. Next he put a small bunch of wool in left 852
hand, poised the paint with right, and finally
placed paint with the wool rolled both together
and deposited them upon the altar. The same was
done with the black paint, after which the squaws
painted a child's face red and black. One of the
men present (Cut Face) brought his child, a boy,
and kneeled in front of R Wolf, laid a dollar bill
at the latter's feet and waited while the child's
face was painted as follows. Running Wolf continued [533]
singing with the other musicians who all [586]
rattled; covering the palms of both hands with a
mixture of red paint and grease, after many waves
to and from the altar, he applied the paint all
over the face of the now kicking and struggling
child who tried in vain to free himself from the
grasp of his father who held him throughout. At [782]
the end of his process Running Wolf made a
long prayer and then rubbed the stuff off his
hands.

Renewing his singing, he mixed the black in [782]
same way and after striping the boy's face [painting
a black stripe over the red paint], indulged in
a 2nd elaborate prayer; he also painted a black
ring around each wrist. The striping of the face
consisted in a single black stripe down the middle
of the face from forehead, at base of hair, to chin,

over the nose and mouth. He finished the boy by 796 ●
waving the pipestem from altar to the child's 778
body, passing it down each side . . . at last plac- 302
ing the mouth-piece to the boy's lips, he dis- 852
missed him with a prayer. [782]

While her husband was thus engaged, R Wolf's wife painted three other children with many prayers, flourishes, and incantations. The prayers being to Sun, that the children may have good health and live long lives. Two little boys walked up and laid some old garments at the feet of R Wolf who painted them as before, and a baby was operated on [not surgically, of course, but ceremonially painted] by his wife, who put mouth-piece of pipe-stem to the little one's lips at the finish. Painting of the seven children was finished at 2:15. The father of the first boy I mentioned had his own face coloured red when he entered. To this Running Wolf added 4 black spots, 1 on each cheek, 1 on chin, 1 on center of forehead.

The next movement was the production [531]
from the sacred package of some dried buffalo
bladders which were painted red by 3 Bulls, his [237]
hand being guided in this operation by R Wolf who held his wrist. Singing all the time without rattles Running Wolf and his wife guided the hand of 3 Bull's wife as she painted two more bladders. All four of those people now grasped at the same time a painted bladder which they brought with a solemn wave or flourish to 3 Bull's head and thence to his feet. A second bladder was used likewise. . . . Incense was then made. . . . An old woman presented herself for decoration and was followed by a squaw bearing a child, all of whom were painted. A white man's squaw [Lee's] dressed in civilized garb and carrying in her arms a white baby, was the next and last applicant. Mother, child, and some of the others, were given four daubs of dark red on cheeks, chin and forehead. Backs of their hands and wrists were also red. . . .

Running Wolf would sometimes forget the 796
required song and at such times he would sit 778
[533]

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Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

quite still with eyes closed searching his mind for 796
the tune. I saw him in this perplexity cause an old 778
man to bring a coal of fire to the altar upon which [533]
he [Running Wolf] made incense and then
passed his hands through the smoke and to his
head. . . . After a delay of 5 minutes his wife
found the song and hummed it for him, at which
he at once remembered it all and went on. . . .
He and 3 Bulls took the floor dancing and whis- [535]
tling; one holding a pipe-stem, the other a buf- [276]
falo's tail. These articles they would exchange with
each other from time to time throughout the [237]
dance. They danced around to the altar and fin- [782]
ished by handing the pipe-stem to 2 Bulls, who
put it to his lips and prayed and then handed it to
R Wolf. . . . And thus it was passed around the
house from right to left, each person as he or she
received it prayed with the mouthpiece to the
lips. It took 20 minutes to complete this circle,
the music was renewed as soon as the pipe
reached the women, at end of which incense was
made again. When the pipe-stem returned to the [782]
woman who had started it, she gave up a long
prayer and laid it in its place.

Many of the Indians prayed at me although [782]
not to me of course; they wished their diety to
give me a better heart, to make me more liberal;
some prayed that they and I should always be as
good friends as in the past. R Wolf held up the [825]
front of the hide covering the bundle to hide his
actions from view and soon the sound of a bull
keeping time with the rattles was heard. At 3:30 [237]
R Wolf, after 10 minutes of antics such as poking [531]
up the nose or head of the animal, exposed the
article he had been hiding, which was a large otter [534]
skin decorated with a scalp tied to the nose, and
bells upon the legs. The head was only stuffed.
This object he lifted up and rising to his feet
danced around the room to the women and
handed it to them. She prayed as usual and set it [782]
in place. Running Wolf returned and went
through the same performance with a large dried [237]
Beaver skin with tail and claws on.

During the next song the two women got 000

[p.95-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

During the next song the two women got 796
down upon their knees and Running Wolf's wife, 778
dancing in that position, held her blanket in such
a way as to catch one of her husband's rattles [535]
which he threw into it, at which the squaws both
took to their feet and danced around the room.
At 3:45, soda biscuits were passed around to the [262]
men; like all the food, this was sent around the [264]
room in the course of the sun, that which reached
those men sitting near the entrance made a complete
circuit. As usual a small bit was broken off a [782]
biscuit by each man and put upon the ground
with a short prayer, but in this case it was done by
the singers only. The women were also helped to
biscuits, and Moon's wife alone made offering to
the earth and prayed a lot of nonsense "at me."
Running Wolf exhibited a duck skin, and holding [237]
it up, he sang 4 songs, ending each with an imitation
of a Duck's call; the rattles were not used [533]
during those 4 songs. 4 squaws and Running [825]
Wolf got down on their knees and with their [535]
hands and arms over their heads, resembling
antlers, they made gestures of deer, while dancing
in front of the altar; at the end of each song, they
turned about without altering their body configuration;
all got up at the end of the fourth song.

In the following, Running Wolf's wife took [535]
a large beaver skin, and placing it on her back, she
danced around; three women followed suit. . . . [237]
These hides were several times changed about
among the 4 women who danced completely
around the room several times, imitating the motions
of beaver. . . .

At 4:20 incense was made; the assistant who
brought the coal of fire for the altar, this time
accidentally dropt it on the floor half way between
the fire and altar; it was brushed to one
side and a fresh one obtained. 3 Bulls, I noticed, [824]
all day was chewing the bark of red willow, which
he bit from willow sticks he had. The fossil songs [533]
were now commenced, during which a fossil [an
Iniskim] was produced by Running Wolf from
the outfit. At end of one song he held it to his lips [782]
and prayed. . . . Incense. . . . The fossil was

[p.96-A]

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Blood

[Beaver Bundle Ceremony]

passed around and prayed to by all. . . . Incense 796 ●
. . . . The common pipe was filled and handed to 778
Front Horn who pointed the stem to the Sun [782]
and made an elaborate prayer. . . . Incense. . . .
Then came a song in which the rattles were used [533]
in a different manner. Each musician held up one
above his head at arms length, shaking to keep [534]
time; then, all were lowered with handles touch- [825]
ing the floor and the cawing of crows imitated.
Incense. . . . The event next in order was a feast [252]
of boiled rice which was handed around and
eaten without prayers or offering [because it did [262]
not represent a traditional food]. . . . Incense
. . . numerous songs and prayers. . . . Tea was [272]
given out in cups, bowls, and tin pans; the squaws
continued dancing. A rattle, made by stringing a [415]
number of buffalo toes to a stick by means of 796
holes bored in the points of the toes and leather 778
streamers through the holes, was thrown by Run-
ning Wolf into the lap of one of the dancing 535
women. The dancer was free to throw it to any- [534]
one, who then must get up and dance with it,
and, in turn, throw it to some other person, al- [237]
ways of the opposite sex. The woman threw it to
"Moon," who got up, and after dancing around a
few times, threw it to Running Wolf's wife, who
responded and danced near me and threw the
rattle to me. Not caring to join the festivities to
such an extent, I threw it to an Indian near me,
who took the floor and threw the rattle to the
woman who had it first, who, in turn, deposited it
on the knees of Spotted Bull, who was still danc-
ing with it when music stopped, which seemed to
cause much merriment. Incense 7:25. Song and 796
prayer by R Wolf. More songs and dance by 778
woman. Each rattler, holding up a single rattle, all [533]
sang the closing songs from 7:30 to 7:35. Two
women faced the door and danced during these [535]
songs; at the 4th part, the door was thrown open [534]
and they danced out. The musicians knocked
rattles together in the air to close off the last song.

[p.96-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

BUNDLE CONTENTS

As Beaver Bundles were most sacred and scarce, one can imagine that collector Mrs. Walters was most interested in acquiring them. Here is what she says about them in her notes: 778

> *The beaver bundle seems to serve general rather than specific purposes. Yet anyone in trouble may make a vow to give a berry soup or feast for the beaver men. At the proper time, a horse, blankets or other property are given to the owner of a bundle who carries the ceremony and all pray for him. The beaver bundle is not carried to the war, but it is opened at tobacco planting time and again at the tobacco harvest and, furthermore, the ritual is connected with the Sun Dance bundle in whose ceremonials it performs an important part.* 778 182 [782] [431] [796]

And acquire them she did. Regarding one of the Bundles she bought for $150, Mrs. Walters includes the following comments by Creighton: 778 432 [439] [435]

"This bundle is not very well recorded because it came from the North Piegans. It was known as the Elk Tongue bundle. It belonged to a man whose name was Elk Tongue who had it for years then it was transferred to a Blood man named Not Good, and he had it for ten years and transferred it to a man, Scraping White [the Old Man's stepfather], and he had it several years and he gave it to Wolf Bull, he had it for eight years and Not Good wanted it back and he had it for sixteen years and now he sold it. . . . You can hang it on the wall."

Also among Mrs. Walters's notes is an itemized contents list of what she identifies as "Second Beaver Bundle." She also had a "first" Beaver Bundle, which she got from our People. Elsewhere in her notes, she refers to this first one as 778

[p.97-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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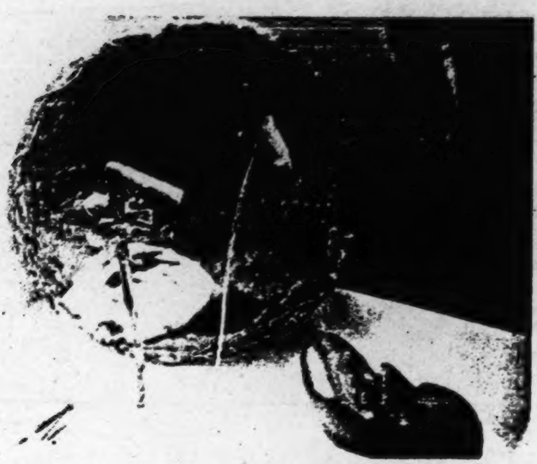


778
415
824
237
412
782
776
796 ●

Sacred objects from a Beaver Bundle. The rawhide bowl has a willow hoop around its opening. It was used to serve the sacred soup during the planting ceremonies of the sacred tobacco, which Beaver Men used to lead. In the bowl are a bunch of dried serviceberries. The two digging sticks were used to make the holes for the sacred seeds. Offerings of tiny moccasins are tied to one stick for the Tobacco Spirits. The Iniskim, or sacred stone, at the right, was often left nearby the sacred plants for protection. Sacred Tobacco was last planted by the Bloods around 1871.

[249]

[P.99-B]

ceived it from a South Piegan family to whom 778
they had transferred a Natoas Bundle during a
Piegan Medicine Lodge ceremony. This Beaver [425]
Bundle was last opened by old Calling Last.

Calling Last was our last Beaver Man. He [793]
owned the other Beaver Bundle still with us in
1965. It had been transferred to him many years [425]
before by a Blood man named Calling at Night.
It was this Bundle that Calling Last sold to the [439]
Alberta Provincial Museum, and the one used in
the transfer ceremony the museum recorded. [432]

Although our People find it difficult to pray [422]
sincerely and communicate with the Spirit World
in the presence of such physical distractions as 778
cameras and nonbelieving persons, perhaps the
Old People permitted this filming and recording 796
because they were told that without such a rec- 177
ord, young Bloods might never again see Beaver 829
Bundle and Medicine Pipe ceremonies performed
properly.

In justifying the filming, Calling Last told the People, "The white men bought the Bundle. It's theirs. It belongs to them, if they want to take pictures."

Understandably, this recording of the museum's is regarded with mixed feelings by our People. Although it was simple for the recorder to pick up the words of the ritual, and later for someone to translate and write them down, how could a machine possibly absorb the true spiritual meanings of the ceremony? How could such a transcription really succeed, when there were numbers of outsiders, along with technicians adjusting lights, microphones, and cameras? And when the sacred place of honor, where the Beaver Man was supposed to sit, was occupied by an anthropologist representing the museum? Nevertheless, while this ceremony was almost totally without the Spirit of life in harmony with nature, we are fortunate to have a complete record of it. As things turned out, it was the last Beaver Bundle ceremony ever celebrated. Calling Last died shortly after this.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796 ●
778
291
302
353
535

Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door, or Stealing-Different-Things Woman, hands one of the sacred skins to a representative of the museum, while Mrs. White-Man-Left continues to dance with a sacred skin. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

Woman doing a sacred Beaver Bundle Dance. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

[p. 102-A]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

291
353
● 796
778
415
782
302

Praying with offerings from the sacred berry soup. From left to right: Calling Last; Bob Black Plume; Joe Gambler; and Albert Chief Calf. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

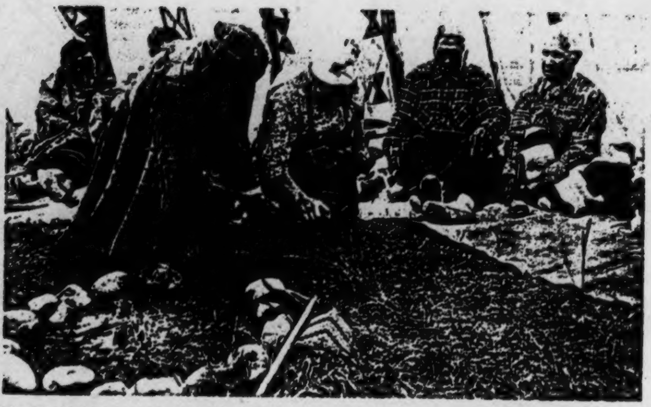
[P.102]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

353
778
796
291
533

Building the Beaver Lodge, the Beavers sing: "In the spring, when I come out, I look around; if I see any enemies I dive back down." (Alberta Provincial Museum) [P·102-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



778
796
237
291
353
372

Mrs. Rides-at-the-Door and Mrs. White-Man-Left imitate buffalo while shaking bunches of buffalo hooves from the Beaver Bundle. (Alberta Provincial Museum)

[p. 103-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

276
324

A drilled pipe-bowl, ready for final shaping and sanding.

---

vived as contents of Medicine Pipe and Beaver Bundles. [778]

The inverted-T-shaped "peace pipe" bowl, common among most of the Plains tribes, was sometimes obtained by our People in trade or as gifts. The red stone, catlinite, that these bowls are made of, is not found anywhere in our Blackfoot country. A Gros Ventre man once gave Atsitsina a block of this stone, from which he carved a couple of small bowls. Our traditions do not allow [796] ● the use of red-colored bowls during ceremonies, as the red pipe represents the bowl style of our traditional enemies. Such pipes should be used only for personal and social smoking. In spite of this, a few of our sacred Pipes have had red bowls (including ours), and an occasional participant brings a red pipe to use in a holy ceremony, perhaps without being aware of this long-ago tradition.

Blood pipemakers have always obtained their 316
stone from the same ancient quarry. It is on a 276

[p. 109-A]

lic, and other parts are so sacred they are per- 575
formed only before members and explained and
passed on only to members. The following is a [114]
fairly brief but accurate description of the society,
published by the American Museum of Natural
History over fifty years ago.

> *Some specimens were collected [from the Motokiks Society]. However, some secrecy was maintained as to details, and the writer gained the impression from Blood informants, that the awe in which the Matoki was held was secondary to the Horns. He was told that as a rule, the wives of Horn Society men were also members of the Matoki. This was explained as proving that the great prestige of the Horns gave one the social level desirable for Matoki membership. According to the recollection of my informant the leading woman in the Matoki was usually the wife of the leader of the Horns.*

The members of the Motokiks Society are
divided into four groups, all under the leadership
of the head woman known as the Pole Owner.
Her annual duty is to obtain a new Center Pole [796]
and to attend to its ceremony when it is erected.
The Center Pole is always left as an offering after [782]
the ceremony each year. One woman was a Pole
Owner for fifty-four years, according to Percy [424]
Creighton. Her name was Pretty Wolverine [425]
Woman. When she gave up her rights, she was
succeeded by Moccasin Woman.

Each member cares for a sacred Bundle, kept [778]
in a rawhide container. The main contents are
headdresses and sacred paints. Anyone in camp [415]
may see the members dressed in their headdresses
and paints, so I can tell you more about them.

Traditionally, the Motokiks are divided into
the Snakes, the Birds, the Bulls, and the Scabby
Bulls. Much of the following information comes [127]
from the notes of Mrs. Walters, who took such
an interest in the Motokiks she tried to buy all
their Bundles for her collection. Although she

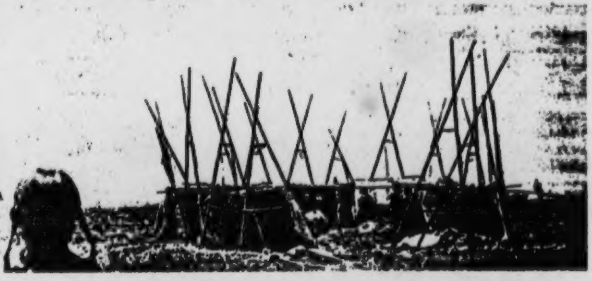
21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

575
346
361
796

Top: Women of the Motokiks Society tying their travois together to make the frame for their lodge during the 1892 encampment. (R. N. Wilson)

Center: Motokiks putting up the walls of their lodge. (R. N. Wilson)

Bottom: Lodge of the Motokiks Society with the two front doors open toward the east. (R. N. Wilson)



21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the 575
camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four 796
days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the 346
one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. . . . On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended. . . . Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart. . . . The members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

There are six men attached to the society, 575
but all the other members are women. Four of 796
these do the singing. The remaining pair act as 353
messengers and attendants. . . . Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge
altar before her seat. . . . Along the sides next to [237]
the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with [824]
sage grass. Sweetgrass is used for smudge. The [292]
headdresses must always be smudged four times
before they are placed on the head. [788]

Men, women, and children go in to be 575
painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, 796
etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. [782]
The faces of these donors are painted over with
red and a blue mark made down the forehead and [302]
nose with a fork at the top . . . to symbolize the [822]
tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

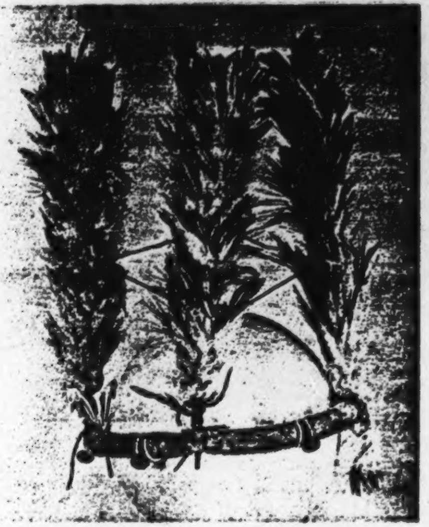
The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at [346]
the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115A]

[p. 114-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]



292
778
575
237

Headdress of a Snake member of the Motokiks Society, on display at the Alberta Provincial Museum.

the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide 575
of the same type as accompanies the beaver 796
bundle. They sit west of the fireplace. [Spiritually, [346]
it is thought that Beaver Men in the longago [534]
contributed their rawhide and rattles to the
society, just as they contributed the Natoas headdress [175]
to the Medicine Lodge and the sacred Pipestem
to the Medicine Pipe Bundles.]

All the women wear bone whistles suspended 575
by neck cords and upon these they blow while 796
they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by 535
groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and
dance. When they sit again, the feather bonnets [534]
[the Birds group] take a turn, etc. In all movements
the owner of the tipi pole has absolute
authority. . . . She wears a buckskin dress and a [292]
snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other
snake bonnet wearers. . . . The feather bonnets [237]

[p. 115-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft 575
bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down 796
on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of 535
small wing and tail feathers. . . . The scabby
bulls wear war bonnets with horns and robes of [292]
cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, [237]
circling the Pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

It is customary for persons who have made 575
vows or pledges during the year, if their prayers be 796
granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the 782
ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a
pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco [262]
which is offered to the tipi pole owner with [264]
an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, 575
the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates 796
buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression
or low place in the prairie. As they drift [825]
along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to [782]
have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for a buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118-A]

[P. 115-B]

[Motokiks Society Dance, 1905]

some person lays hold of them and leads them to 575
a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in 796 ●
the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and
walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

Like the horns and other societies the mem- 575
bers sell, or transfer to others, usually all transfer- 796
ring at the same time. The ceremony seems to 432
require four days and nights, during which time
they are not supposed to sleep. . . . It is said [513]
that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and [522]
jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act
out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll
up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock
ceremonies. . . .

The fees for buying a membership are a [424]
horse, a gun, and other property. The most ex- [435]
pensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for
which twelve horses and a proportionate amount
of other property are required.

Shortly after Atsitsina left, we went outside 575
our tipi to watch the Motokiks. They were al- 796
ready beyond the camp circle, walking in single 782
file from east to west, along the south side of the
circle. We saw Mokakin take down a spare lodge
pole leaning against the back of his tipi. An offer- [824]
ing made of willow sticks, sage grass, and cloth
was fastened to the pole. Mokakin had put the
offering on the lodge pole before Sunrise, so that
Sun could see where it came from.

The women sat down on the ground outside
the south end of camp. Mokakin untied the [276]
offering and gave it to his son Charlie, along with
a filled pipe and a bunch of sage grass, to bring to
the women. Charlie presented these things to one
of the members and knelt before her to receive
her prayer. Then she lit the pipe and passed it
around. After it was smoked out, she returned it
to him. The women got up and, single file, moved

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 119-A]

[P. 118A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
575
292

Some members of the Motokiks Society in 1892. The sacred headdresses belong to the groups known as the Birds and the Snakes. (R. N. Wilson)

[P.118-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

on to the west side of camp, where they again sat 575
down to await anyone who wished to make offer- 796
ings. They repeated this at the north and east 782
ends, then returned to their lodge.

The next morning, people would have an-
other opportunity to approach the Motokiks for
prayers and blessings, this time in their lodge.
There, the prayer seekers would be painted with [302]
the Center Pole design. We wished to have Mrs.
Red Crow, the society's only remaining Scabby [123]
Bull, paint our son Wolf Child, so that he could
add this blessing to his young life.

MINIPOKAIKS: THE FAVORITE CHILDREN

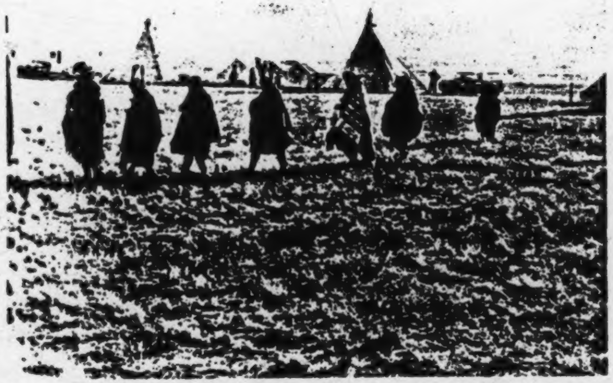
That evening, after the camp quieted down, we 574
went next door again to visit Mokakin and Ponah.
Eagle Ribs is always happy to entertain his guests [517]
with stories and talk. One of that night's subjects 593
was *minipokaiks*—"favorite children." It was a 858
tradition among our People for parents or grand-
parents to select a child as a favorite, one who [554]
showed particular promise to succeed in our
Ways, given proper care and Teaching. If the
parents of a minipoka went to many ceremonies,
the child was likely to grow up to become a cere-
monial leader. If the parents went to many social
functions, the child was likely to learn much
about leadership. Other minipokaiks, however, [155]
were simply spoiled and pampered so that they
grew up expecting others to help them at the first
sign of difficulty. Mokakin told us this legend, 539
The Story of the Abandoned Children, about one 773
minipoka of the long-ago.

This happened a long time ago. I don't know how long. I heard the story told by others when I was young.

[P.119-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

796
575
342



Members of the Motokiks Society in 1972, making a ceremonial round of the camp early in the morning.

[p. 119-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

302
796 ●
575
291

Wolf Child, after receiving a face painting and blessing from Mrs. Red Crow, during the ceremonies of the Motokiks.

[p.119-c]

proudly. "We had it three times; our boy Frank 778
had it not long ago, and now our grandson, he's 425
going to have it too. It's sure different today from [178]
the time we first got it."

By this Mokakin meant that the Spirit for 778
our Old Ways has changed a great deal since that 425
same Bundle was first transferred to himself and 796
Ponah forty years ago, when the transfer ceremony
used to take four days. Although our People 178
still show all the traditional respect for our Medicine
Pipe Bundles and their Owners, it is often
without spiritual meaning.

NINAMSKANIKS: MEDICINE PIPE PEOPLE

"Now that you are Ninamskaniks," the Old Man 793
had said to SikskiAki and me, "you must learn to 778
have holy thoughts all the time, so that you will
inspire others to think of holy things. You must 123
set good examples, so that others can learn your
holy Ways. Leave behind your bad thoughts. Pray
for those who are evil, but remain on your own
good path. Have good hearts toward others and
help them when in need. I will teach you what I
know, but always remember to pray. Pray often
and your dreams will be good. . . ."

And so, with the Old Man's guidance and

[p·122-B]

source of food. A whistle makes the sounds for 778
the winds and all the birds that fly in the air. 825
Pouches of sacred Earth paints represent our 237
Earth Mother. Sweet pine needles, used for in-
cense, speak for all that is sweet and holy. The [824]
tanned elk hide wrapped around the Bundle testi- [534]
fies to the majesty of that animal. The tanned
skin of a black bear, wrapped around the elk hide, [823]
represents the physical power of bears and gives the Bundle strength and protection. A plaid shawl draped over all of these things gives the Bundle privacy and symbolizes the Power of the changes that have come to our Old Ways.

Sacred Pipes are smoked only during Medi- 778
cine Lodge ceremonies, and not at any other time 276
—not even during Medicine Pipe Bundle-Open- 796
ing ceremonies. When taken out of their Bun-
dles, they are not smoked but danced with. [535]
Dancing is so important that many refer to our Medicine Pipe ceremonies by the Blackfoot term *Ninamska-Paskan*—Medicine Pipe Dance.

In the Old Days, when the People lived together in lodges, the Medicine Pipe Bundle was opened on the first day Thunder was heard in the spring. When this happened and it was confirmed in the home of a Bundle Owner that the opening ceremony would be held, the wife immediately began preparing the berry soup. Owner and wife would then change into their best dress and straighten out their lodge, which soon filled with relatives, friends, and all nearby Medicine Pipe People. If the Owner was not properly educated to open his own Bundle, he asked a former Owner to lead the ceremony.

Each Bundle had its own group of followers. 778
Those who formerly owned the Bundle always at-
tended all its ceremonies. Close relatives of the [425]
present Owner came, and the ones who helped with the transfer payments were given spiritual rights to parts of the Bundle. Others came because they were interested in the special Powers of the Bundle.

In the Old Days, members of a band trans- 778
432

[p.125-B]

ferred ownership within their own group. When 778
the People moved on to the reserve, they settled 432
there according to their bands. Thus, some of our
Old People knew quite well the histories of the [657]
Bundles among their own band, while they knew [361]
little about other Bundles.

Bundles are the spiritual property of their 778
Keeper, or Owner. Our People used to live with 42
the fact that owned property could be reclaimed at any time by nature, through loss, damage, or death. They believed that owning something meant caring for it until it was claimed by a stronger Power.

TWO MEDICINE PIPE TRANSFERS: 1890s

Many firsthand narratives of long-ago Medicine 778
Pipe ceremonies are available among the Piegans, 796
but not so many among our People, the Bloods.
The oldest record among the few comes from the
papers of Robert Wilson in the 1890s. Those who [178]
took part in the ceremonies he witnessed still practiced their Old Ways daily, but even then were no longer totally dependent on nature in their way of life, so that they could not fully relate to the representations of nature inside the Bundles.

Although Wilson was not always aware of [114]
the meanings of the symbols he saw, I will pass on [127]
to you what he wrote.

Sacred pipe holders are easily distinguished 793
by the free use of red paint on their person, hav- 778
ing it rubbed all over their white blanket or coat [531]
and also over the leggings and moccasins, their
wives painted the same. A pipe-holder wears upon [301]
each wrist a blue bead tied with a buckskin strand, (the wife also; or, if man does not wear beads upon wrist, he will have one bead and a shell strung upon a buckskin string on his neck.)
[The Owner and his wife wear both necklaces [796]
and wristlets during the ceremony.] Children [852]
who have been painted during [the] ceremony of transfer also wear the beads.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

the Old Days, only to ambitious persons. Anyone 778
not wealthy but who had enough ambition and 432
spiritual power could go out on a raid and bring [555]
home enough horses to take care of the physical
sacrifice.]

"High sleeper" paid sixteen out of his twenty- 778
one horses. He had lost all his relations but one 432
and bought the pipe to change his luck. I wit- 796●
nessed the ceremony of his purchase which took [782]
place in the lodge of Crop Eared Wolf [the
adopted son of Head Chief Red Crow, who later [435]
became his successor], who had owned the pipe
for ten years. I also was present at the transfer of
a pipe from "Roach Mane" [the young-man name
of Ponah's father, Iron] to "Brave Bear."

The following description I write after being present at four Thunder dances: –

Inside the lodge, directly opposite the entrance, is a space occupied by a cushion to receive [353]
the pipe which was now outside, where it always
stands in fine weather during the day, leaning on
two sticks against the west side of the lodge. On [533]
each side of this space and extending around the [534]
lodge to the entrance in two half circles are arranged blankets and quilts for seats for the visitors who soon begin to arrive; the host (who is seated with the cushion at his left hand) tells each person where to sit; four or five men, who are good singers and know the songs used on these occasions, are told to take their places on the left of the entrance and are given tom-toms.

The Master of Ceremonies, or Priest, of the [793]
occasion, who is never the host but someone who knows all the songs of the pipe, of which there are a great many, and who is well versed in the mystic rites or functions in connection with the sacred pipes, takes his place next to space for pipe, sitting opposite to host, the cushion space being between them.

In front of cushion, between it and the fire, is a square hole dug in the ground, size about 9 or 10 inches square, and two or three inches deep; its sides being at right angles with the cushion. Upon

[p. 127-A]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

entrance the assembled guests sit smoking and 778
chatting upon all topics. 432

Host's wife presently brings in the Sacred 796 ●
bundle and ties it to the lodge poles directly over the cushion. Bundle is covered with a red shawl and consists of a Bear Skin rolled around twenty or so skins of animals and birds, some of the latter stuffed, among which is an owl. In centre of bundle are several red cloth bags containing the Sacred Pipe, its two stems, a long wooden whistle, rattles and a number of articles the uses of which I will presently show.

Between the cushion and hole before men- [782]
tioned is now placed a live coal from the fire. The
priest places an open bag of sweet grass [actually, [824]
sweet pine] on the ground and taking right hand of host in his right hand, he guides host's hand to bag and extracts therefrom a pinch of the powderized sweet grass, while both are muttering a prayer. [The incense] is sprinkled upon the coal of fire with a spiral motion of the hand, causing a sweet odour to fill the lodge. The bundle is now taken down and waved towards this altar four times before it is set down upon the cushion.
[Wilson fails to mention that the series of Medi- [533]
cine Pipe songs is begun before the incense is made. The singing goes on while the Bundle is taken down and placed between its Owner and the leader of the ceremony.]

Bowls and pans are now produced and the 778
squaws bring in pails of berry broth and rice, 432
which is served unto all present, myself among 796
the rest, though the stuff was not very tempting 782
to look at. I managed to make away with part of
my share as my right hand neighbor said it was [262]
not good to refuse. Before eating, the oldest man [576]
present picked one berry from his dish and holding it above at arm's length began an elaborate prayer to the sun thanking him for past blessings, for his old age (70 years), and soliciting future favours for himself and host. He had hardly started before the other old men followed suit and before they had concluded, every male [and

[p. 127-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

female] in the lodge was praying in the same manner, 778
some to the sun, some to the moon, birds, 432
stars, eniskims [Iniskims, or sacred stones] and all 796●
their numerous deities, each person concluding his 782
prayer by placing the morsel, which he had been holding up, upon the ground and rubbing it through the grass into the earth saying: "Earth persons, I give this to you." After they had done all this, the host held up some of his food and prayed as follows:

"Oh Sun! Oh Sun, pity me, Oh Sun, pity me, pity me that my children may grow up to be men and women. Pity me, that I may be a good man with a good heart, that my horses may increase and not get stolen. Pity me, that I may not die when sick, that I may escape all danger when I travel from home. I am happy to be able to see my family around me. I am glad to be able to look at my horses, I am glad that I can move around this summer in health, I am glad that things are as they are and hope that I am to be so blessed a long time."

[At this point the food was eaten, although Wilson does not mention this.]

Priest now takes tallow and red paint and 796
paints his hands and face, holds his hands over 778
incense and passes them over his legs, breast, arms 432
and head [actually, in reverse order, symbolically [302]
cleansing the evil downward from his body],
praying as he does so. Host does same, but does [782]
not paint himself. They now sing a number of [783]
songs, making gestures as they sing. . . . Priest [533]
now paints the South half of the square hole in the ground Red, and the North half, Black. Priest and host and wife now proceed to unroll the pipe by untying the numerous strings; each string as it becomes disengaged is waved towards incense and
then put away. From bundle is taken four [237]
plumes, two are painted Red and two Black. Host now takes a pointed red stick and makes three feints to stick it into the ground at S.E. corner of hole and at the fourth does so, making a little hole in which a Red plume is placed. Same is

[p. 128-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony 1890's]

done at S.W. where the other red plume is 796
placed, then N.W. and N.E. corners [in] which 432
are stuck the black plumes. Two small willow 778
sticks painted red, about 2 feet long, [are] stuck [824]
upright in the ground in front of and close to the
bundle, a third is tied across horizontally near
tops of them, four waves being made to altar before each stick is placed in position. The mouth [237]
ends of the two pipestems are placed resting
upon this crosspiece, a stuffed owl is laid with it,
head also upon the crosspiece end of long wood.
A quantity of tobacco, generally a 3 lb. carrot of [276]
H.B.C. [Hudson's Bay Company, which was [439]
often supplied by Wilson from his trading post]
tobacco, is now divided up by host and a piece [792]
given to priest who, breaking off a small particle,
holds it out in front of him and, often giving a
short prayer to the earth, pushes the balance into
the earth. One of the old men present counts a [555]
couple of coups which are loudly applauded. Four [302]
children, or as many as the host has, or any child
relative whose parents wish it to be painted, are [852]
brought forward, and painted by Priest. All is now 796
ready for dancing which is started by Priest, who 432
takes some article from the Sacred Outfit, generally 778
the fancy stem of pipe, and dances around 535
the lodge and out through the entrance. He often
has in one hand this whistle which he points up [534]
to the sun and earth, blowing as he dances, and
shaking the pipestem which has a great many
bells on it. After turning around outside he [782]
dances back through lodge and having danced
four times, hands articles to host, who prays to
them [or with them, as I have said] and puts
them in their place. After some chatting, the [533]
drums start up again and sing three songs and at
the fourth, one of those men present who have
owned a Sacred Pipe gets up and dances around
the lodge, dancing towards the pipe three times,
holding out his hands as if he would take it; the
fourth time he takes it and often one of the other
articles and dances with them in his hands. Each
man dances to four songs [actually one song, sung

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

four times], *then gives the articles to host as before.* 796
Sometimes 2 or 3 will be on the floor at 432
same time. One may have owl, or rattle alone; 778
they can suit themselves and take whatever they 535
like. [Not exactly. Past and present Medicine [422]
Pipe Owners may select anything from the Bundle,
but some persons who have never owned a
Bundle may have had the rights to certain objects
within a Bundle transferred to them. They can
then always dance with those objects but not with
any other.] *When using the whistle they begin at* [533]
a high note and descend the scale with a continuous [534]
toot, toot, toot.

In making the first three feints to take the [201]
pipe, the dancer often retreats, dancing back
around the lodge making the sign to kill (as if
stabbing with a knife). [This preliminary dancing [178]
Wilson describes is no longer done at all. Today,
when a man gets up to dance he takes the selected
object, prays, and dances four times.] *They*
nearly all dance the same step in this ceremony, a
slow, regular, vigorous jump with both of the
knees bent; the tunes and songs used upon these
occasions are not sung at any other time; the step
in dancing is also peculiar to Calumet [Pipe]
men. There is a preference shown for the owl,
which is most often taken up and almost always
prayed to by the dancer as he takes it in his
hands, or the host when it is handed back to him.
[According to our traditions, the dead come back [825]
to visit the living in the bodies of owls. For that
reason owls are respected as being very Powerful, [775]
and many participants desire the spiritual
strength they get by dancing with one.] *At one of* 796
these dances, while one of the dancers had the 432
owl in his hands, I was amused to see a claw and 778
leg of the bird fall to the ground, at which all 787
present put on a very long face, thinking it a bad
omen, and it is a strange fact that the owner of
the pipe and host on that occasion died before
the summer was out, his Calumet was buried with
him, the stems lying on his breast. [Any accident
that occurs during a sacred ceremony is con-

[p. 129-A]

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

sidered to be a bad sign. A piece falling from a 796 ●
sacred object, an error made in the singing, a 432
rattle or drumstick dropped, or a person falling 778
down, particularly if caused by the negligence of 787
the participant, will cause the marked person to
immediately ask some old man to call out four [789]
brave deeds, in the hope that the old man's [555]
powers in times of danger will help prevent possible
misfortune as a result of the accident.]

Sometimes a woman is allowed to take the 796
pipe at these dances and clumsily dances [this is a 432
gross interpretation of the smooth dancing done 778
by women; an ideal woman remains very dignified 535
during social occasions and does not dance with [562]
the glamour and obvious enthusiasm shown by
the men], facing a minute to each of the five [923]
points of the compass [actually, four]. There are generally some extra moves in the ceremony of unrolling the Calumet peculiar to each pipe; for instance in one case, before dancing, a squaw takes a drum stick and strikes two blows on each of the lodge poles that the entrance is between [the spiritual purpose of this to notify the sacred lodge that loud noise, in the form of drumming, is about to commence], in another case a forked stick is used to rest the head of the stuffed owl upon, this stick stuck upright between the other red willows.

The following narrative is also from Wilson's 796
notebook of the 1890s. He calls this story a 432
"Calumet Transfer." 778

[127]

When an Indian has once said that he will
take the Sacred Pipe, he must not fail to keep his [626]
promise, for he is sure to be visited with misfortune should he so trifle with the Sacred. Nowadays a man names the day that he will pay the horses and be initiated. Formerly, it was customary to leave that to the owner and priests who would take him by surprise the night before the transfer was due to take place. The pipe is unrolled with the same ceremony as in Thunder

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

Dance, and the assembled men spend the night 796 ●
singing and feasting and dancing. At the first sign 432
of daybreak five or six of them take the stem and 778
pipe and the owl and silently go to the lodge of
the sleeping candidate, taking with them a stroud
blanket or robe upon which they place the man.
Putting into his hands the stem and owl, they
then seize the corners of blanket and lift the man
bodily off the ground and carry him out and off to
the lodge of the owner of pipe where the ceremony
is to take place. They there deposit him
upon the right of the Sacred outfit, which [place]
is vacated by the host who takes very little part in
what follows. While they are carrying their prisoner
from one lodge to the other, a great deal of
shouting is done by themselves and those in the
other lodges. [This shouting is in the form of [554]
cheers honoring the candidate.] The candidate,
when seated, places the things he has been carrying
in their places. Singing and dancing is now
indulged in for about two hours, during which
the guests slip out one by one and go home and
wash and put on their good clothes, as they are
looking rather tough after the night's sleepless
feasting. Finally a couple of priests of the occasion [924]
chew sweet grass [again, sweet pine, the [261]
Medicine Pipe incense] and prepare to do the
decorating. A boy is decorated, his friends having [302]
paid two horses for the privilege. First a red ring [152]
is painted around the candidate's face and around
each wrist, and from there around to tips of
fingers; a spot is painted, one on each shoulder,
and feet are also painted red. Priest's hands are [292]
waved four times to incense before he does the [237]
painting; he now takes a sheep skin band, hair outside,
painted red and blue, and puts it on man's
head, hand waved four times to incense; a feather
is stuck through hair at top of head, from right to
left, and boy is fixed up same way. Some other
children are now painted.

The vendor's wives now paint candidate's wives and hold up a blanket, curtaining off that portion of the lodge where they sit and dress them completely in new clothes which they, the

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood
[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

vendor's wives, supply. Vendor's wives chew 796●
sweetgrass while they are dressing others. When 778
they are through the blanket is taken down. The 432
candidate is dressed completely in a new suit of [824]
clothes by vendor; this is done before his wives [261]
are dressed. Each garment is waved four times to
incense before being put on. Candidate now gets [824]
up and, passing behind pipe with fire stick in
hand walks out, stepping on four bundles of sage
the first four steps. A painted white horse is waiting [231]
outside which he mounts, and there is handed [531]
him the fancy pipestem, which he holds in his
arms. A priest leads off the horse, singing, to [533]
candidate lodge which the latter enters [candidate
enters his lodge]; a squaw brings back the [534]
horse, and priest returns with stem and owl [to
vendor's lodge]; 2 Priests and 2 others go outside
[vendor's lodge] having in their hands both pipestems,
owl, rattle, and whistles, they stand in a
line and sing while the four drummers form another
line behind and they all move off, singing,
to lodge of candidate; front line dancing and singing
forwards and backwards, at times facing
around when they at last arrive at candidate's
lodge. Front line goes in, drummers at once return
[to vendor's lodge], candidate at once comes
out [from his own lodge] and, mounting horse
which had been brought around again, he comes
back to [vendor's] lodge and enters. As he enters,
the drummers all take hold of a common
pipestem and bow their heads low, still waiting,
until he passes in, when they lift their heads and
go to work at their drums.

Now there is dancing for an hour, very much [535]
like Thunder Dance, but more of it, there sometimes
being four up at once. Head bands and
feathers are taken off. A blanket is now held up as [852]
a curtain, closing from view the man and boy.
The two priests take the front locks of hair of [302]
each [the man and boy] and form a top-knot by [237]
braiding out one braid in front and doubling it
back upon itself and tying it with buckskin; a long
strip of otter skin is wrapped around [the braided
lock], making a long roll sticking out over the

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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1890's]

face; while this is being done a third priest stands 776
outside holding the fancy stem towards middle of 778
blanket to time of slow beat of drums. 432

A blue bead and shell is tied on each top [302]
knot; the priests again chew sweetgrass, spit on [257]
their hands and rub them over heads of man and
boy after they have fixed the hair; head bands and [301]
feathers are now replaced. One priest now gets up [824]
with man and boy, man with fancy stem in his
hand; all face South then West then North and [261]
dance a minute to slow time in each direction, at [535]
which there is great applause. [In the form of [152]
shouts and war cries. We clap our hands only to
accent our talking, not to applaud. The "applause" [554]
is to cheer the new Medicine Pipe Man
during his first ceremonial act as Owner.]
Women do same, that is, candidate's wives and
two other women. All morning, relations of candidate [431]
have been bringing in household articles
such as dishes, fry pans, cups and saucers, pails,
also blankets, guns, and etc. and piling them up at
the entrance. These are now distributed by vendor
and his wife to their relations, probably giving
those who contributed when they were buying
the pipe years ago.

Pipe is now rolled up and the newly made
medicine man's wife carries it home on her back.

Wilson learned the Ways of the Medicine 796
Pipe ceremonies quite well, although, as indicated 778
by my parenthetical comments, he occasionally [114]
made a mistake, or misinterpreted. The
following story, told by our uncle, Atsitsina, illustrates [115]
how well Wilson knew these ceremonies.
The story takes place during the Sun Dance Encampment
at the Belly Buttes in the 1920s.

I will tell you the story of Long-Nosed Crow. 796
His name was Bob Wilson. He was just like an 778
Indian. He spoke the Blackfoot language just as I 177
am speaking it now. Everybody knew him. He
knew me and my father very well.

One time, when this big-shot from the States
called Schultz [James Willard Schultz, the author

[p. 131-A]

of many books about our Old Ways] was visiting the Bloods, they went together to a Medicine Pipe Dance. It was for the opening of Big Sorrel Horse's Pipe, the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. Wilson told Schultz, "I believe in the Indian religion. I have my reasons. When they have Big Smoke ceremonies, I always help them. I bring them tobacco and stuff to make soup with. I can go in and have my face painted. They pray hard. Their prayers help me good." 796 ● 778 177

Many White Horses was opening the Bundle; he was called by his nickname, Bachkseene [closest English translation is "bungling idiot"]. We watched as Bachkseene opened the Bundle, then danced with the Stem. After that, they sang two "rest songs," then danced, one after another, without rest songs in between.

After the ceremony, Wilson came over to us and said in fluent Blackfoot, "Hai-Yah, now you are walking lost, the way you were opening that Bundle. The ceremony was mixed up. In the Old Days, when the leader finished opening the Bundle, he would dance twice and go outside with the Pipe and pray. Then he would come back in and dance two more times and give the Pipe to the main Owner to pray with. Then the leader would tell the drummers to sing four resting songs and then tell whoever wants to dance to get up and dance, and that person would get the sweet pine and put it on his feet and pray with it and he would dance. He would dance four times. Then he would give the thing he danced with to the NinamskAki [Medicine Pipe Woman] and she would pray with it and give it back to the Bundle. Then they'd sing four more rest songs and then dance again. You're all mixed up now. The songs you sing are correct, but the way you do it is wrong."

Wilson was pretty smart. He knew a lot about the Old Ways.

[p. 131-B]

BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE OPENING CEREMONY: 1972

NinnaOnesta—Albert Chief Calf—was the crier 778
on the morning of the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe 796 ●
ceremony. He came around early, announcing 203
that Jim Twig was going to open his Medicine Pipe. Not yet having fulfilled his annual obligation of having the Bundle opened, Jim Twig wanted to do this before starting the Bundle's transfer ceremony. All past and present Medicine Pipe Owners were invited, according to custom.

NinnaOnesta wore a black cowboy hat with a [291]
red-dyed eagle plume fastened to one side, and a
pink scarf around his neck. He had on his ever- [416]
present sunglasses, and in one hand carried a [481]
cane. At the age of seventy-seven he was still a sturdy and strong-voiced man. Here is what we heard him say: "Hurry up! Hurry up, all of you people who want to see the Medicine Pipe Dance. [Jim Twig] is going to open his sacred Pipe today. He wants to get started early so that we can finish before dark. Oki, all of you Akai-Namskaniks [past Medicine Pipe Men], all of you Ninamskaniks, you are invited. Bring your bowls. All of you people who want to see the ceremony, you are invited to come to the yellow-painted Elk Tipi. Hurry Up!"

We got up and made our incense. SikskiAki 778
no longer took our Bundle outside to hang over 782
the doorway during the day. The Old Man told
us that there were too many casual visitors now in [123]
camp who had no idea how to show proper respect for such a sacred thing. As we made our incense, we prayed for our success with the Spirit of the Old Ways; we dwelled on good thoughts about our own life.

We were about to eat breakfast when Mrs. 778
Stabs Down came in. Our Bundle had last been kept by her and her husband for the benefit of their children, who had been initiated as Owners.
By tradition she is now our "Mother." She had [601]
[432]
[422]

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[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

come to ask for some sacred yellow paint, knowing 778
that I use that color as part of my personal
Medicine. She said that the old Horns wished to [432]
buy some for use in the upcoming Horns Society [422]
transfer. Her husband was giving up his membership,
while her brother was going to join. I told [575]
her I would donate some to the Horns. Then she [431]
declined our invitation to visit and quickly left to
help the Horns in their many preparations for the
transfer.

We had just finished breakfast when another 778
visitor arrived. This time it was Ksachkom 426
("Earth"), or Fred Eagle Plume, Atsitsina's
brother, who, in his seventies, was the oldest man [575]
to become a new member of the Horns during this [782]
transfer. He was joining to fulfill a vow that he
had made some time ago. He came to borrow my
pipe bag. He said that Atsitsina had loaned him a
pipe, but that he must have a bag for it during
the transfer ceremonies. I said nothing, knowing
that tradition would not allow me to ask for the
bag's return if he did not bring it back on his
own. The soft deerhide from which the bag is [415]
made was the last one tanned long ago by my
"grandma" who lives in the south. I could never
replace it. In addition, the bag is beautifully decorated
with SikskiAki's beadwork. Since I did not [576]
care to lend it, I remained silent to his request.
Knowing the reason for my silence, Ksachkom explained
that a new bag was being made for him
by some woman relative, and that he only needed
mine because his was not yet ready for use. Then
I agreed to let him use the bag. It is a custom that
Medicine Pipe Owners do not lend out their
belongings, but give them away if someone is
really in need of them. If they do lend anything,
then it must be returned within four days. After
that they can neither ask for it nor expect to take
it back if it is brought.

Sun let us know early that it was going to be 796 ●
very hot that day. It is easier for the body to sit 292
through a long ceremony in the spring, after the 778
first sound of Thunder, than in the middle of a

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Blood

[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

hot summer. We knew that we would not be very 796
comfortable after wrapping our wool blankets 292
around ourselves. Tradition requires participants 778
in holy ceremonies to cover themselves with a
robe or blanket to show modesty and respect be-
fore the Holy Spirits. At most Medicine Pipe
ceremonies, this tradition is mainly followed by
current Medicine Pipe Owners and by the leader
of the ceremony. Others wear blankets only while
dancing with one of the sacred objects from the
Bundle. However, a few people ignore tradition
and go without their blankets altogether.

To complete our preparations for the cere- 778
mony, we took the shell necklaces and bead brace- 796
lets from the rawhide paint-and-accessory bag of 301
our Bundle and put them on. Medicine Pipe
Owners and their families used to wear these [793]
symbols all the time. Now most people wear them
only to ceremonies. They serve as a constant re- [82]
minder of the main elements of nature: shells to
represent water; blue beads to represent the sky;
thongs to represent animals; and a coating of
sacred red paint to represent Earth.

We heard the voice of NinnaOnesta again, 778
announcing that the ceremony was about to be- 796
gin. We wrapped ourselves in our blankets (Wolf
Child and me; women generally wear theirs over [292]
their shoulders) and immediately we became very
hot! How it must have been in the Old Days [291]
when many of our People dressed like that every [178]
day, wearing a buffalo robe or wool blanket as
outer garments and buckskin or wool clothing
underneath! They had deep convictions in our
customs to find happiness despite physical dis-
comfort.

The Elk Tipi was a large yellow-painted 778
lodge with the head and horns of a buffalo 796
painted over the front doorway. Hoof tracks deco- 346
rated both sides. The tipi belonged to Richard
Little Dog, who led Medicine Pipe ceremonies [532]
among the South Piegans in Montana. Jim Twig [422]
borrowed this tipi for his ceremony, because it
could accommodate many people. A second tipi [426]

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Blood

[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

cover was stretched over a framework erected to 778
lean against the east side of the main tipi, thus 796
forming a sort of patio. Friends and relatives of 346
the Owner crowded into this secondary tipi and
watched the ceremony through the open front of
the main tipi. The cover of the secondary tipi was
rolled up so that others could watch from outside.

We always enter our tipis from the east side, 778
from the direction Sun's first rays of light an- 796
nounce the start of another day. Some women
and children were already seated within the secondary tipi; the main tipi was about half full when we entered it. We stood in the doorway, waiting to be received by host Jim Twig, who sat beneath the Bundle. His wife sat on his right. Someone called out for him to hear, "Oki, here are some Medicine Pipe Owners." Jim looked, smiled at us, and then pointed to a place next to Emonissi (an old man also known as Laurie Plume), who was going to lead the ceremony. I went to the place I was shown, while SikskiAki occupied the matching place on the women's side.

One other Medicine Pipe Owner was already 778
sitting in the main tipi. He was an older South 796
Piegan named Charlie Horn. His wife inherited 184
her aging parents' Bundle, which they now take
care of at their home in Browning. Theirs is one [428]
of five Medicine Pipe Bundles still left on that reservation. Medicine Pipe ceremonies are usually held in the houses down there. While our Pipes are usually brought out only in the spring, theirs are brought out whenever anyone makes a vow to sponsor the ceremony.

Shortly after we sat in place, visitors from our 778
other divisions arrived. First came old Makes 796
Summer (Joseph Young Eagle Child), my
Weather Dancing instructor during the last Medicine Lodge ceremony among the South Piegans. Then came Ben Calf Robe, a man in his late eighties and a former Medicine Pipe Owner
among the North Blackfoot People. They were [576]
shown seats up front, the place for honored guests. Old Charlie Horn, a quiet and humble

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man, sat halfway back instead of way up front 796
where all Medicine Pipe Owners are supposed to 778
sit.

One more drummer was needed to start the [533]
ceremony. Our Old Man, sitting by the doorway, volunteered to fill the vacancy. The physical efforts required of drummers would strain his old body. He knew that, but he wanted to help get the ceremony started. I helped him move over to sit on the first of the cushions arranged for the drummers in an east-west line.

Just before the ceremony actually began, old NinnaOnesta showed up. Once the ceremony begins, it is not proper to rearrange anything, but there was still time to have the physically stronger NinnaOnesta replace the Old Man.

The ceremony went like any other, with the incense, praying, singing, and untying of the Bundle. In the Old days, at least seven sets of seven [533]
songs would have been sung. But no one knows [178]
all seven sets anymore. Today, usually the first set of seven is sung, and then part of the second set.

After the Bundle was opened, we ate the [262]
sacred meal of fresh berry soup, as well as boiled meat and eggs, crackers and cookies, and oranges and apples.

This pause lasted for about twenty minutes; [535]
then the ceremony continued with dancing done in time to drumming and singing. During this part, participants were given an opportunity to express their own spiritual feelings about the Bundle. Anyone who had been initiated into the Spirit of our Medicine Pipes could get up and dance with an object from the Bundle.

The custom of dancing is different with this 796
particular Bundle, the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. 778
With other Bundles, only the men dance, while 535
their female relatives may dance in place to ac- 562
company them. Then, women dance with the sacred objects only to fulfill vows, standing next to the leader and bouncing lightly up and down; relatives accompany them, dancing in place four

times, facing each of the four directions. The 796
dancing party stands on a walkway made up of 778
blankets, quilts, and pieces of material given to 535
the Bundle's Owner afterwards. However, for this 562
Bundle, both men and women dance, one encouraging the other.

Before the dancing began, Emonissi took the 796
sacred Pipe outside the main tipi and prayed to 778
the Powers of the Universe. He returned and laid [782]
the sacred Stem on a rack, made up of three sticks
like a miniature goal post. The drummers began [533]
the introductory turn for the Medicine Pipe
Dance. All the songs, or chants, were accompanied [534]
by hard-soft, hard-soft beats on the rawhide-covered hand drums. The four drums used to be among the accessories of a Bundle, but no longer. Today, drums are usually borrowed.

During the introductory song, Mokakin got 796
up and prepared to be the first dancer. He went 778
up front and took a pinch of sweet pine needles 783
from the pouch next to the altar. Putting the
needles in his mouth, he chewed them, then spit [824]
a bit of them in his right hand, which he brushed [261]
down the left side of his body. He did the same with his left hand. Then he repeated the whole ceremony. Finally, he spit some of the incense in his hands, rubbed his palms together, then rubbed the soles of his moccasins a total of four times. He was now symbolically purified and ready to handle the sacred objects from within the Bundle.

One of the two Pipestems was very simply 796
decorated, while the other was more fully deco- 778
rated with the eagle tailfeather fan. The simple 276
pipe looked like the secondary Pipe and the latter
looked like the main Pipe, except for one feature. [531]
The secondary Pipe is usually more recently [237]
made; but here this simple pipe was very ancient compared to the one with the eagle tailfeathers. And indeed, Mokakin selected the much older, more simple Pipe, which was this Bundle's main Pipe.

Mokakin prayed aloud, holding up the sacred 796
778
782

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[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

Stem. He gave thanks to be able to pray with his 796
old Pipe once again and he asked for strength so 778
that he could pray with it again next year. He 782
asked the Spirits of the sacred Bundle to continue
sharing their power with him and his family and
all past and future Keepers of the Bundle.

After the prayer, Mokakin hummed a few 796
notes and the drummers took up the rhythm of 778
the song. Like other Pipe Owners, Mokakin had 535
his own special song for dancing; these songs [533]
come either from Teachers or from dreams.

Mokakin is a dramatic and spirited dancer. His basic style is to bend forward at the hips, loosen his knees, then take short jumps with both feet. With each jump forward, he turns a bit to the right or left. His left hand rests on his hip, while his right hand is extended before him, holding the sacred Stem.

As he danced by the others, he held the Stem [782]
towards them, giving its blessing. Some responded by reaching out with their hands, symbolically grasping the Holy Power, then holding it to their hearts.

Meanwhile, Ponah bounced enthusiastically to her husband's dancing, holding a corner of her shawl in each hand of her outstretched arms. As she bounced, she turned from side to side, and occasionally burst forth in the high-pitched tremolo of a woman's victory cry.

Each time the singing stopped, Mokakin straightened up, waiting for the next song. As he waited he caressed the Pipe and straightened out any tangled ribbons and feathers.

When the fourth song was over, Mokakin 796
walked over to the doorway of the main tipi and 778
handed the sacred Stem to his daugher, Theresa.
Because the topknot from this Bundle had once [422]
been transferred to her while her parents were the [432]
Bundle's Owners, she had the right to handle the
Pipe. Mokakin reached into his pocket and took [431]
out a couple of dollar bills, which he handed to
two male visitors. This was to show his generosity
and inspire good thoughts in the recipients.

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[Backside-To-The-Fire Pipe Opening Ceremony, 1972]

Ponah did the same thing to two women visitors. 796
Then Mokakin went up and took from the Bun- 778
dle the secondary Pipe. He carried it, dancing,
behind his daughter, who was holding the main [431]
Pipe. Ponah again kept time, and when the dance [535]
was over, all three again gave gifts to the visitors.

Theresa gave the sacred Pipe to her brother
Frank, also a former Owner. They danced side by
side around the fire while their father followed
with the secondary Pipe. This time Mokakin also [534]
carried the sacred rattle, shaking it and keeping
time to the beat.

After more gifts to the visitors, the sacred 796
Pipe was handed to someone else. And so it went, 778
the Pipe and dancing alternating among the men 535
and women until it was handed to one of the drummers, who asked someone else to drum in his place as he danced. When he finished dancing his four rounds, he unexpectedly brought the Pipe over to its Owner. According to tradition, the dancing was over, even though only half of the participants had been given a chance to dance.

Jim Twig then got up to begin the final part 778
of the ceremony. First, he gave each participant a 796
piece of old-fashioned twist tobacco. Each person 276
removed a pinch and held it aloft, while Emonissi
began a prayer. Everyone joined the prayer and [782]
then offered the pinch of tobacco to Earth. Next,
Jim Twig passed out packages of tobacco and
rolled cigarettes to all present. In the Old Days he [178]
would have handed out sacred tobacco, harvested during the previous summer, dried in the fall, and kept all winter inside some of the skins within the Medicine Pipe Bundle. When his supply was exhausted, he returned to his seat, ending the ceremony.

People picked up their blankets, gathered 778
their eating bowls and bags of food, and left the tipi. Emonissi and Jim Twig stayed seated, so that they could tie the Bundle back up. For this, no ceremony was required.

[p. 135-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

Later on the Fourth Day

Back at our tipi, we put away our blankets and 312
other things, lay down in the shade, fanned ourselves, and drank lots of cool water. Getting water to the Sun Dance Camps used to be quite a chore in the Old Days, as there was no-accessible water source in the Belly Buttes. Nowadays, a truck with a full tank of cold well-water drives around the camp circle every evening so that people can fill their containers.

It was a clear, calm, middle-of-summer day; 575
the temperature must have been at least a hundred. 432
We heard someone singing. The song was
to honor the wife of Harry Shade, about to become [533]
a member of the Motokiks. Although it is [554]
traditional for this society to transfer memberships
as a group, a woman may make a vow to [782]
join if she learns that a present member is willing [422]
to part with her Society Bundle. As in this case, [424]
Noyiss, the wife of Henry Standing Alone, had agreed to transfer her membership. We looked toward the Motokik's lodge, where we saw someone leading a fine horse with a pile of beautiful blankets on its back—all representing payments for the new membership.

Part of the Motokiks' transfer ceremony is 575
public and part is closed. We walked over to the 432
lodge to join a crowd of others to see what we 796 ●
could through the two doorways and the lodge
covers, which were opened for all to see. Inside, [535]
three women were dancing in place. They wore [292]
[584]

[p. 136-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Snake headdresses, whistles on leather thongs 575
around their necks, and shawls over their shoul- 432
ders. The feather plumes of their headdresses 796 ●
waved in the air as they danced. Each of the [292]
women tooted on small whistles made from eagle
bones. The women's faces were completely cov- [534]
ered with sacred yellow paint, which looked [237]
greenish in the subdued lighting of the lodge.
Thin red lines were drawn from the corners of [302]
their eyes and mouths.

Four of the older men did the singing—Joe [533]
Sun, Albert Wolf Child, Mark Old Shoes, and
Fred Weasel Fat—all former members of the [534]
Horns Society. They sat in a row, facing east, each
beating the song's rhythm with a rawhide rattle
on a sheet of rawhide spread before them on the
ground.

The members' beds were lined head to foot [353]
around the lodge wall. Members who were not
dancing sat quietly on their beds. Before each [352]
bed, a piece of earth was cleared. This was the [778]
altar where the incense was made. Just beyond
the altar, toward the center of the lodge, a short,
upright stick had been firmly planted in the
ground. Tied to each stick was a decorated raw- [415]
hide container. This was where the sacred head- [292]
dresses were kept when not worn.

Soon the doors of the lodge were closed, [778]
shutting us from the mystery of the ceremony
within.

[p. 136-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

you how we were "captured" when we took our 778
Pipe. 425

The Owner of our Pipe was Stabs Down. [123]
Our camp, consisting of our old Painted-All-Over
Tipi and a canvas wall tent, which served as a 778
cookhouse for the ceremony, was set up near 432
Stabs Down's tipi. But it was so windy during 716 ●
the night that we didn't hear the singing when [346]
they opened the Bundle.

Our uncle, Atsitsina, who camped with us [343]
and served as our advisor, woke us early on the
morning of the transfer. He was the go-between
for Stabs Down and us to make sure that we were
all prepared for the transfer. He made a final
check to see that our blankets were properly
fastened, then told us to wait quietly for the arrival of the capturing party, which, according to custom, we weren't supposed to expect. In the Old Days, we wouldn't even have known the day of the transfer.

Nevertheless, after all the months of learning, planning, and saving, and after the early trials and disappointments, we found it impossible to pretend that we were not moments away from taking on the most sacred duty in the Old Ways of our People. After all the listening and reading about the sacred Pipes of our People, we would soon begin living within the holiness and honor of our own Pipe.

We prayed and cried as the wind whistled through the top of our tipi and flapped the faded red cover.

While we prayed, the capture party arrived. From Stabs Down's tipi we could just barely hear the sounds of drumming. We had no idea who was gathered there.

Before us was White Horn, a relative of ours
also known as John Many Chiefs. The Owner
had chosen him to lead the ceremony. He wore a [292]
striped blanket across his left shoulder, holding [535]
out the sacred Pipestem in his free right hand as
he danced toward us. White Horn was once
Keeper of this Pipe, and its Spirit was with him as

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

he danced. He handed the sacred Stem to me, 778
then stepped aside, permitting the man behind 432
him to dance before us. This man carried the 796
secondary Pipe, which he gave to me. The third [535]
man in line gave me the wrapped owl skin; the fourth man handed me the decorated whistle and rawhide rattle.

The capture party spread out a blanket and instructed me to sit on it, holding these sacred objects next to my body. With the help of two young men, they all picked up the blanket, lifting me into the air. They carried me out toward Stabs Down's tipi, SikskiAki and Wolf Child following behind.

Atsitsina walked along, singing the ancient [533]
honoring song of our family's band, the Many
Children. He preceded each song by calling, in a [554]
loud, sing-song fashion, "Natosina, Ah-hey . . . SikskiAki, Ah-hey . . . Makwi Poka, Ah-hey," and then he sang, announcing the sacred duty we were about to assume.

I could hear the Old Man's voice, booming above the other drummers, singing in Stabs Down's white tipi as we approached it. On the way, the party stopped four times and gently lowered me to the ground. They carried me into the tipi as Sun moves, from east to west around the fire. The Owner's seat was vacant, south of the opened Bundle. SikskiAki and Wolf Child sat at my right. The leader sat to my left; he instructed me to replace the sacred objects in the opened Bundle between us.

The Old Man was very proud that his [576]
"grandchildren" sat in the place of honor next to
the sacred Bundle that had so long been his. He [533]
sang a rousing honoring song that silenced everyone in the lodge. When he finished he took up his [534]
drum and beat a rolling introduction with his drumstick.

The drummers began one of the Medicine 778
Pipe dance songs and the four members of the 432
capturing party danced with the sacred objects. 796
White Horn led the group, which included 535

[p.139-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

Arthur Healy and Jim Red Crow, both of whom 778
were former Owners of this Bundle, and Henry 432
Standing Alone, who once owned the Bloods' 796●
Long-Time Pipe. Each of the dancers demonstrated 535
his spiritual enthusiasm in his own way as
he danced the four rounds. Then the men handed
the sacred objects to SikskiAki, who accepted
their Spirit by brushing them over her body four
times. The objects were then brushed over Wolf
Child and me and were replaced in the Bundle.

The transfer ceremony ends when the retiring 778
Owner dances four rounds with the sacred 432
Pipe. During the dance, he goes outside to inspect 796
the goods offered as material payments for the
Bundle. If he accepts them, he gives the Pipe to
the new Owner. If he does not, he may either
sing a song, specifically requesting something the
new Owner should sacrifice, or he may instruct
the leader to close up the Bundle and call off the
transfer. He would do the latter only if the prospective
Owner's lack of material sacrifice was a
mockery. No one remembers such an occurrence
in recent times. However, there was once an incident
when specific horses were requested by the
retiring Owner of our People's Long-time Pipe.

Old Stabs Down is often considered the previous
Owner of our sacred Bundle. He is a man in
his mid-seventies, although he appears much
younger. He speaks very little English and he is [191]
among the more traditional of our People. But he
likes to point out that some people mistake him
for a non-Indian because of his light features. Unlike [184]
others who prefer the Old Ways, his herds of [231]
cattle and horses make him one of the reserve's
most successful ranchers, and in his house he has [207]
one of the few color television sets among our
People.

The real Owner of our Bundle was Stabs
Down's teenage son, Wallace. He was the one to
dance outside and inspect the goods we offered.
Wearing a striped Hudson's Bay blanket and [292]
holding the sacred Pipe, he danced the first two
rounds of the "inspection song." During the sec-

[p.139-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

ond round he danced outside where our relatives 778
stood with some of the goods we were giving up. 432
Our main payment was to have been seven 796 ●
horses; several we owned, the others we would
buy. Due to a misfortune in his family, however, [436]
Stabs Down sent word to us sometime before the
transfer that he would rather have the money for [435]
those horses we hadn't yet bought. So we offered
a thoroughbred quarter horse and a good mare
with a colt. Instead of the other four horses, we
offered a large number of twenty-dollar bills sewn
to a large Hudson's Bay blanket, according to custom,
and also a large pile of blankets, clothes, and
dry goods.

SikskiAki and I held our breaths, hoping that
all our spiritual hope and enthusiasm would not
be let down for insufficient material payments. It
had taken us some time to gather what we
offered. After a brief look at our things, the [535]
Owner turned slowly and danced toward us as the
drummers took up the inspection dance song [533]
again. At the end of the song, young Wallace
stopped before us and handed the sacred Pipe to
me, saying, "You got yourself this holy Pipe."
Then he turned around and walked to his seat by
the doorway.

With that simple gesture we were given the [424]
key to our long-time dreams. We now had the

[Medicine Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

right to learn the sacred songs and Teachings of 778
the Medicine Pipes and to use them whenever we 796
wished to have their Power. 432

During the ceremony that followed, we were [424]
all painted in the style of Medicine Pipe People. [302]
My family was given new blankets and shell necklaces
and bead wristlets to wear. White fur headbands [301]
were placed on Wolf Child and me. [292]

A transfer within the transfer took place
when the little granddaughter of Mokakin and [852]
Ponah gave up her rights to wear the sacred topknot [237]
from our Bundle, which is a strip of otter
skin. While the topknot song was sung, the fur [301]
strip was wrapped in a spiral around a small,
doubled-over braid that SikskiAki had fixed over
Wolf Child's forehead. In our language, he became
a Medicine Pipe Child. We gave up a [435]
quarter horse yearling, another pile of blankets,
dry goods, and moccasins in payment for this.

Back in the Old Days, most Medicine Pipe 793
Owners wore topknots to identify themselves. 779
The origin for this has been forgotten. In recent [301]
times most men cut their hair too short to wear [302]
topknots, which is probably why the rights to
these topknots are transferred to some child. The [432]
parents make sacrifices, offering nearly as much as [852]
given for the Bundle itself. Usually the Bundle
belongs to their own parents or a relative.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

The Fifth Day

THE BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE TRANSFER CEREMONY

The main event of this day in camp was to be the 796 ● Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe Transfer. The ceremony 432 itself had actually begun the night before, with a 778 preliminary opening of the Bundle in Jim Twig's tipi, where he and former Medicine Pipe Owners had gathered. (This opening is not to be confused with the annual opening Jim Twig had had earlier.) After the Bundle had been ceremonially [264] opened, and the guests fed, the group dispersed, leaving the Bundle untied for the rest of the night in the tipi.

White Horn was to be the leader at the transfer ceremony on this day—the same White Horn who had officiated at our own transfer. He carried the sacred Pipe under his white blanket, leading the capturing party toward a white tipi. There the future Owner waited with two of his sisters, one to be his partner, in place of his wife, and the other to accept the Bundle's topknot. This was a common arrangement among Old [852] People who made the vow for a young person to take a Pipe.

Mokakin sang an honoring song for his [533] grandson. Two other grandparents, Ponah and [554] Emonissi, also sang their own rendition. The tiny bells on the sacred Pipestems jingled with the leader's movements.

[p. 141-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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[Backside-To-The Fire Pipe Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

After the sacred objects were replaced in the 796 ●
Bundle, the singers began the inspection dance 432
song. Jim Twig took the sacred Pipe and danced 778
outside to see the payments. To make their [435]
grandson's transfer successful, both grandparents
had amassed four nice horses, a new Winchester [436]
rifle, a couple of blankets covered with bills, and a
huge pile of blankets and dry goods. When Jim
Twig came back inside, he danced up to young
Weaselhead, handed him the sacred Pipe, and
said, "Oki, here is your holy Pipe."

The transfer is completed after the new [302]
Owners have had their faces painted. Two men
held up a large blanket to shield the painting
from the view of others. The drummers sang
while Henry Standing Alone stood outside the
blanket and held the main Pipe over the blanket,
jingling its tiny bells above the head of the new
Owner. The topknot and headbands were fast- [301]
ened on by the leader and his wife. Then the [292]
leader and his wife exchanged new clothes with
the new Owners, to symbolize the rebirth of the
Owner and his wife. In the Old Days, these new
clothes would have been made of finely decorated
buckskin. Today, except for handmade moccasins, [178]
the new clothes are store-bought and are seldom
worn at the exchange. Often, only blankets are
actually exchanged and worn.

After the blanket was taken away, the cere- [535]
mony continued. A procession of people came

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into the tipi to take turns dancing in place with 796
the sacred Pipe. These were people who wished to 432
share the Pipe's spiritual powers; and for the 778
privilege of dancing with the Pipe, they contrib- [535]
uted some blankets and dry goods. The first group
was young Weaselhead's relatives. They placed [424]
the blankets and dry goods around the fireplace in
a semi-circle, dancing on them and facing the four
directions. After each dance, the material was
given to the former Owner and considered part of
the payment.

After the relatives, some members of the 796
Magpie Society came in. Fred's late father (Pat 432
Weaselhead, Junior, son of Mokakin and Ponah) 778
had been a member of the Magpies. Upon his 575
death, his comrades had taken his son into their
society as a junior member, as was the custom.
For ceremony, they danced and then gave their [535]
walkway of blankets and dry goods to the Bun-
dle's former Owner. The last group to come in
and dance in the same way were members of
young Weaselhead's social society, the Kaispaiks,
or Grass Dancers.

After the last dancer, the Bundle was folded 778
up, but not tied, and taken to the new Owner's 796
tipi for the remainder of the ceremony. The 432
woman has the honor of caring for the Bundle,
not only at home but also when moving it. She
carries the closed Bundle on her back, following
the leader and her husband.

Due to the uncomfortable heat that day, a pause was taken until later in the afternoon, when the mountain breezes would blow across the campground. We went back to our own lodge to rest and relax.

It was almost suppertime when the crier [203]
came around to announce that the Bundle would
be closed up. He reminded the participants to [415]
bring along their bowls to share in the meal the
new Keeper's family would provide. The new [264]
Keeper's tipi was soon filled with visitors, most of
them former Medicine Pipe People. Berry soup [262]
and other foods were dished out, prayed with, and [782]
eaten. The atmosphere was now very relaxed. It

was after dark when the last person danced with 778
the sacred Pipe and returned it to the new 796
Owner, bringing the transfer ceremony to a close. 432

HISTORY OF THE BACKSIDE-TO-THE-FIRE PIPE

Part of the Spirit dwelling within each sacred 778
Bundle is the history of the Bundle and of those
who formerly owned it and prayed with it. What [115]
I know of this Pipe I learned from my two
Teachers, Atsitsina and Mokakin, each of whom [869]
had already kept that Bundle.

It is called the Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe because the sacred Stems are placed within the Bundle in the direction opposite that of Pipes in other Bundles. Our other sacred Pipe Bundles must always hang on a west wall, facing Sun's first light from the east, and the Pipestems must be placed in the Bundle so that the mouthpieces point to the south, where the lodge fire is. But the tradition of the Backside Bundle calls for the mouthpieces to point North; thus the "backside" of the Pipes face the fire. This is according to spiritual directions given to the Pipe's first Keeper.

White Horn, an uncle of the ceremony's present leader, had been the first Blood man to
own this Pipe. He had it transferred to him by [439]
Drum, a member of the Sarsi tribe. Although the [425]
Sarsi People belong to a different language group,
they share a long alliance and dependence with [648]
our People, and have adopted most of our religious and cultural customs. Thus, their Medicine Pipe Bundles are similar to ours. The main Stem of the Bundle looks like a Medicine Pipe from the Crow People, so the Bundle may originally have come from them.

White Horn had the Bundle for many years, [764]
and because he was so fond of it his family decided
to bury it with him when he died. Before the [787]
burial, one of our head men, Day Chief, was
instructed in a dream to take the main Pipe from

[p. 142-B]

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[Fred Eagle Plume] drew the buffalo on it. They 778
told me when the Sun Dance started they would 432
go there and set it up. I started bringing my hay [532]
to Bald Head. I worked hard and saved up nine
hundred dollars. Then word came that they had [454]
set up the tipi and that we should come to the
Sun Dance Encampment.

I got my money and bought the things for payments. The next day I went to camp. In the distance I could see the tipi. When I got there I moved right into it. The next day we went to get the horses I was going to give for payment. They were in the pasture of Camoose, my brother-in-law.

First we had to transfer the Buffalo Tipi to 778
me. Calling Last painted me for the tipi transfer 432
and led the ceremony. My relatives got out four 796 ●
eagle headdresses. My brother said, "You will get [532]
painted for these. They will be transferred to
you." [342]

The next morning Heavy Head and Speaks-in- [302]
the-Middle [Iron] came with some others to capture me. They took me to the tipi where the Bundle was transferred. On the way, we stopped four times; each time there was a headdress for the Owner.

*When they finished transferring the Bundle
we brought it home, and I asked Heavy Head if
he would finish the ceremony in my lodge. So
we had a dance with the Pipe. Then Heavy Head* 778
initiated me to step over a dog, so that I would 432
be allowed to step over dogs from then on. They
brought a dog over in front of our tipi. Somebody 796
brought out a hot coal and placed it by the dog. 424
*Heavy Head made incense with sweet pine and
held each of my feet over it four times. The
fourth time he told me to step over the dog. He
said, "Now you will not get hurt by touching a
dog or by being around one." But he said that* [784]
*dogs must never come into a tipi or house where
a Medicine Pipe is. That's the Old Way.*

The next morning Heavy Head woke me up and gave me the right to get up. I was just like a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 146-B]

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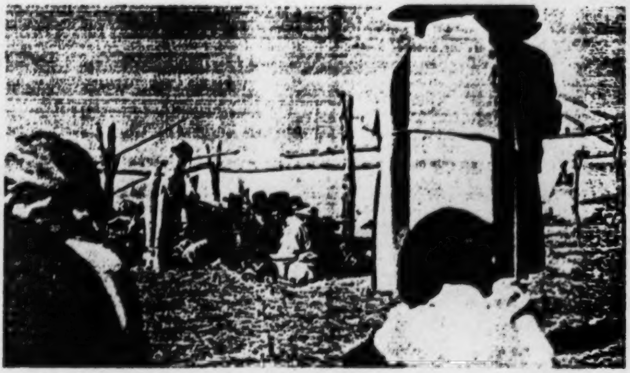
796
778
276
[575]



Atsitsina holding his holy Backside-to-the-*Fire Pipe* while a Horn member smokes from it. The *Pipe's* sacred opening ceremony at a Sun Dance is the only time a Medicine Pipe is brought out to be smoked.

[p.146-A]

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child that was being taught how to do everything the first time, my wife, too. He gave me the right to smoke, then told me to go outside and look around. I tried to look three times; the fourth time I put my hand above my eyes and I looked all around. That was to start out my first day as a Ninamskan. 778 432 796 ● 424 ·

Heavy Head told me, "When you get home from the Sun Dance you will make a sweat for me and I will transfer to you the rights that I haven't transferred yet." As soon as I got home, I built the sweat lodge. After the sweat, Heavy Head asked me to have a horse tied up so that he could give me the right to get on a horse. I borrowed my brother's [SikskiAki's father's] horse. Heavy Head told brother that the horse must never carry meat after the initiation; he was going to be a holy horse and would go lame if he carried meat. He made incense and we did it the same way as with the dog. Then he gave me the right to butcher meat. He gave me the rights to do all the important things in the Old Way of life. [784]

Atsitsina also told an interesting story about this Pipe Bundle, involving the father and grandfather of our present head chief, Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides.

Oki, I will tell you a story about Backside-to-the-Fire Pipe. It must be a very Powerful Pipe, because it is still here, among our People. Even our Long-Time Pipe is not here anymore. It was 778

[p.146-B]

Bundle's blue-bead wristlets. The wristlets for the 778
Long-Time Pipe stayed in Weaselhead's family 793
for many years. The original drums from the [432]
Bundle are now owned by Many Grey Horses. [301]
They are often used at the opening ceremonies of
our remaining sacred Pipes. [534]

Bobtail Chief transferred the Long-Time
Pipe to Stephen Fox, who vowed to take it during [782]
an illness. Stephen Fox was a successful rancher
who owned many horses. Bobtail Chief did not [432]
think that enough of those horses were being sac-
rificed for something so Powerful as our Long- [435]
Time Pipe. During the transfer ceremony, after he [796] ●
had looked outside at the payments, he came
back in and told the drummers to sing a special [533]
song in which he said, "I do not see that fine gray
team among your payments."- Stephen Fox
quickly sent someone after the matched team,
which he had hoped not to lose.

Stephen Fox was known by the name White- [551]
Plastering-His-Home until he became Owner of
the Long-Time Pipe. During the transfer, he took [553]
on the name Big Eagle. This was in keeping with
our tradition, which allows a person to take a new [555]
name for noteworthy accomplishment: a first
coup, a long-distance journey, or a major role
within our tribe.

Stephen Fox left behind a large family when
he died a few years ago. Some of them are well
known in reserve politics, business, social affairs,
and news media. He got the Fox name when, as [551]
a young boy, he was sent to school with his sister.
The teachers did not care to learn the students'
traditional names, so they decided to give them
all "proper" names. Because his sister's name was
Medicine Fox Woman, they were both given the
last name of Fox.

Calling First wanted to have the Long-Time [432]
Pipe, even though Stephen Fox did not wish to
give it up so soon. So he decided to make sure of
a transfer by stealing the Pipe from Stephen Fox.
Fifty-two horses were among the payments made
during that transfer. Calling First had the distinc- [582]
[584]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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tion of having been married to a ten-year-old girl 778
when he was only twelve. The marriage was arranged 793
by their parents. It is said that Calling [582]
First used to have his mother watch his wife
while he went out to play with his friends. [584]

During the 1930s our next-door neighbor, old [782]
Dick Soup, made a vow to take the Long-Time
Pipe for his son, Arthur, who was then in a hospital.
The following year Arthur returned home, [432]
and the Pipe was transferred to him. Old Bird [776]
Rattler called out the necessary coups while Soup [555]
was given the right to mount a horse (by tradition
this required a man to relate how he had rescued [424]
a friend during battle) and to dismount (for [425]
which the coup had to be about an enemy who
was pulled from his horse). Of course, no one
today has such deeds among his record of accomplishments.

The next Owner of the Long-Time Pipe was
Henry Standing Alone, also known as Folded Intestine.
He and his wife were well-liked participants
in our holy ceremonies. Unfortunately, they [165]
were killed recently in a tragic auto accident.
Around 1939, Folded Intestine's daughter was [771]
very ill and he became depressed and lost his faith
in our Old Ways. He wondered why his little girl
had to suffer so much instead of him. But his
daughter recovered and then he became critically
ill. It took three months for him to get well again.
While almost dead, he had a dream in which he [787]
was told that if he vowed to accept the duties of a [782]
Medicine Pipe Bundle, he would recover. He related
his dream to two older relatives, Heavy [755]
Head and Cross Child, both former Medicine
Pipe Keepers. They offered to help him fulfill his
vow if he wished to follow their advice. They
told him that since no particular Bundle had been
mentioned in the dream, he might just as well
vow the Powerful Long-Time Pipe. The Bundle
was transferred to him during the next Sun Dance
Encampment.

Standing Alone transferred the Long-Time
Pipe to his sister and her husband, John Red

[p. 149-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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SCENES FROM THE CEREMONY WITH THE LONG-TIME PIPE—BLOOD RESERVE: 1968

(Photos from Alberta Provincial Museum)

776
778
353
532
782
276
291
292

Brown Chief Calf, the leader, praying with the Long-Time Pipe.

[P.150-B]

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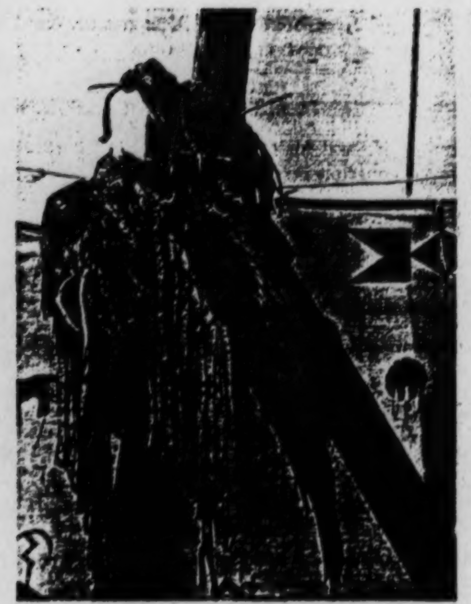
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



796 ●
778
415
531
532
237
283
417

Accessories for the Long-Time Pipe: a rawhide bag for paints and necklaces; an eagle-wing fan for the Owner; a braided rawhide rope for the Owner to use when horse raiding; and the wooden tripod to hang the Bundle on.

[p.150-c]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Sacred berry soup being served to participants of the ceremony. This is a typical scene at all Medicine Pipe ceremonies. Most Owners and former Owners follow the custom of bringing wooden bowls to eat from, while others bring whatever containers they have available.

796
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The drummers and singers of the Long-Time Pipe ceremony. From front to back: Willie White Feathers; Albert Chief Calf; Atsitsina; and Mark Old Shoes.

[P.151-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6 Blood

796
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532
291
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276

Participants praying with offerings of tobacco at the end of the ceremony.

[P 151-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 796
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302
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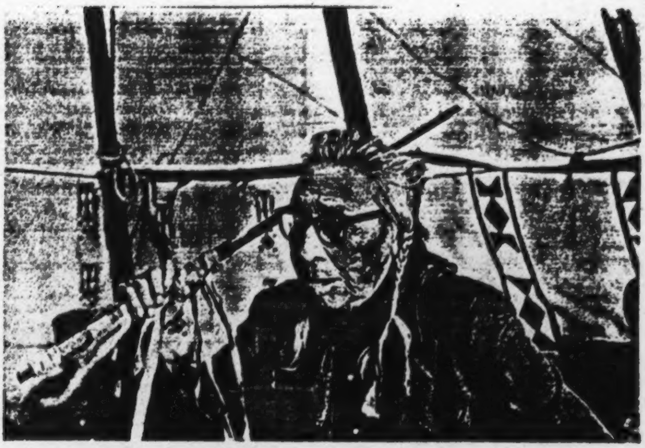
142



Wolf Old Man with the secondary Pipe. The Old Man was then over ninety.

[P 152]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 796
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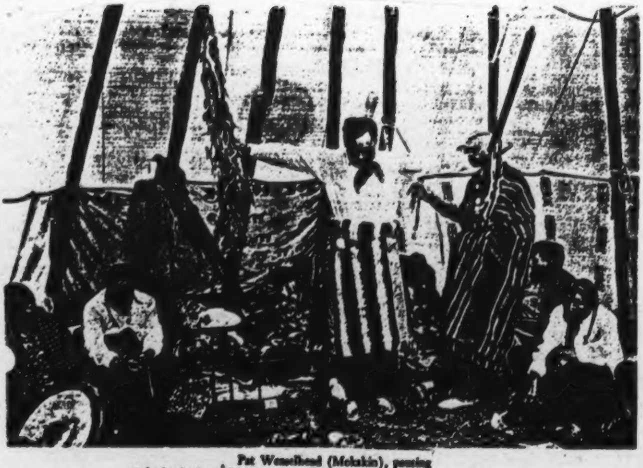
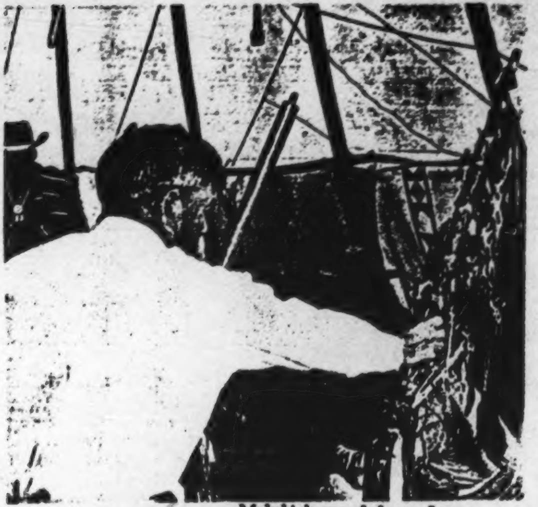


Pat Weaselhead (Mekakin), pausing at the beginning of his dance song. He is holding the Long-Time Pipe and the secondary Pipe.

[D153-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



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Mokakin's sacred dance. Joe Young Pine stands in back.

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Giving encouragement to Mokakin during his dance is his wife, Ponah, and her sister, Mrs. Red Crow.

[P.153.B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 796 Henry Standing Alone bids farewell to the sacred Pipe that he and his wife once owned. The Bundle was sold by his sister
778 and brother-in-law.
276
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292

[p.154-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

● 796
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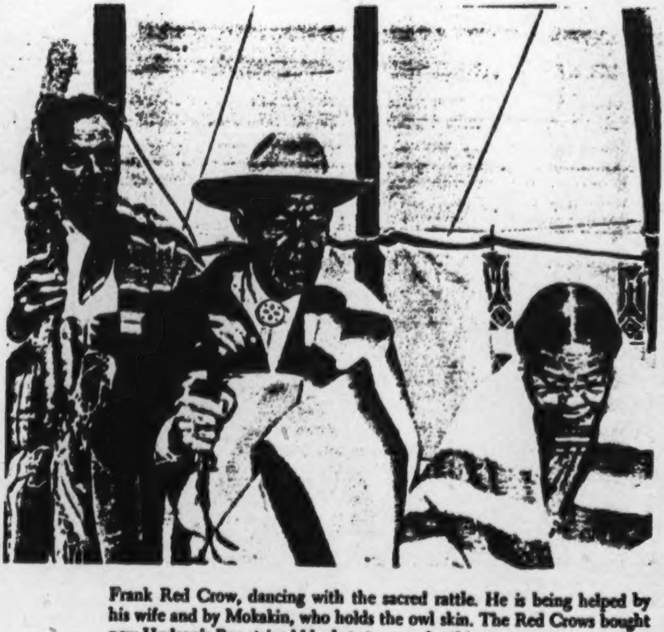
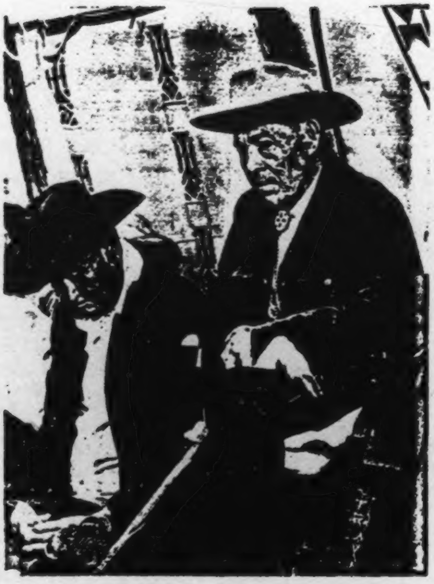


Frank Red Crow, dancing with the sacred rattle. He is being helped by his wife and by Mokakin, who holds the owl skin. The Red Crows bought new Hudson's Bay striped blankets to wear for this ceremony.

[p. 154-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood



796 ●
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Frank Red Crow, or Close Shooter, during the ceremony. On his right is Bob Plaited Hair.

[p.154-G]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

End of First Week

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For many people in our encampment, the most important ceremonies involved the Horns Society and their transfer of memberships. These ceremonies were to be the last major event of the encampment, which, incidentally, it has always been their duty to organize. Although many aspects of the Horns' activities are too esoteric for anyone who has not been initiated to understand, the public parts of their ceremonies are for the benefit of all the People.

[p. 202-c]

The Horns Society

Officially, the Horns Society ceremonies could not 575
begin until the Motokiks had finished theirs. On 796
the fourth morning after the women had put up
their lodge they took it down, signifying the end
of their celebration. A few husbands helped with
the dismantling. In a short time only the Center [782]
Pole remained standing, an offering to the Holy
Powers. The women gathered around it and
raised their headdress sticks toward the top. They
prayed and sang and no doubt asked for strength
and good luck so that they might all join together
again the next summer. Then they left their sticks
tied to the bottom of the Center Pole, along with
cloth offerings for the Spirits that had been with
them during their ceremonies.

With the Motokiks' lodge down, our atten- 575
tion turned to the Horns Society's. It had been 796
made with two tipi covers. Two frames had been 346
set up very close to one another so that the tipis
seemed to intersect, one opening into the other.
Actually, the poles that would have intersected
had been left out of the structure, making one
oblong frame over which were spread the two tipi
covers. One of the covers was white; the other was
partly painted with red symbols.

Not far from the lodge of the Horns was a large white tipi in which those members of the Magpie Society who were to become Horns were holding their meetings.

That night, not long after Sunset, we heard 575
the Horns singing for the first time during the 533

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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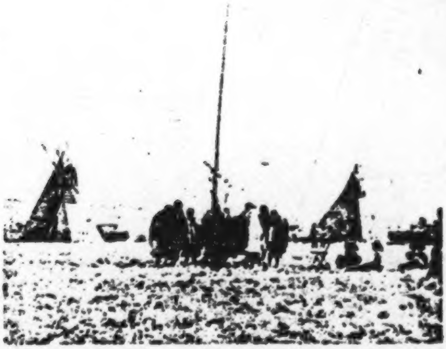

The Motokiks gather around their sacred Center Pole for one last prayer and blessing, before hanging up their Bundles for the year.

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encampment. At the start, several hand drums beat in unison a steady rhythm to accompany the men and women singing the comrade songs of their society. We all listened quietly and respectfully. The singing continued late into the night, a spiritual form of entertainment that was to be repeated during the next few nights. 575 533 [539]

The members of the Horns Society slept in their double lodge during the nights of their cere- 575 [796]

[p.203-B]

monies. Food was cooked in other tipis and brought to them at mealtimes. Every morning the members brought out their ancient sacred bags and Bundles and hung them from several long wooden tripods set up behind their lodge, to the west. 575 [796] [778] [417]

SOCIETY TRANSFER CEREMONY: 1891

As a non-member, it would be improper for me to say much about the activities of the Horns during our encampment. However, Robert Wilson recorded the public activities of the Horns Society transfer ceremony of 1891. The events he witnessed were basically the same as those that took place in our camp. 123 127

•

An enclosure had been built in the middle of the space inside the large circular camp. This enclosure was round and about 40 feet in diameter. It was constructed of travoix, lodge poles and lodge canvas. The travoix, 18 in number, were set up in pairs resting together at the top. These nine pairs were placed at equal distances from each other in a circle and between each pair was tied horizontally a single lodge pole. The poles were about 3½ feet from the ground and over them was thrown lodge canvas thus making a continuous wall or shelter for the inmates who had spent one night there. Between the two most easterly pairs of travoix, the pole and canvas had been omitted which left a means of egress and exit for the crowd of men, women and horses that thronged the place. 575 796 346

Sitting with their backs to the wall inside the shelter, and forming except at the entrance an unbroken circle of men, sat the 18 old members of the Society in company with their assistants [called Partners], and some old men who acted as instructors. In front of each old member a staff was stuck upright in the ground. Nine of these were long poles, 10 feet or thereabouts, with 10 575 796 432

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

inches of their upper ends bent down almost in a 575
perfect half-circle and tied in that position by a 776
leather strand. This gave the 9 large staffs a strik- 432
ing resemblance to the crooks of ancient shepards.
A 10th man had stuck in front of him a 10 foot [411]
spear with an iron head, and all of the others had
simply a short plain stick about 4 feet in height.
Upon each of these upright staffs were tied one or
more of the long painted and fringed raw-hide
bags always seen hanging upon a tripod at the
back or west side of an Indian house or lodge. In
front of each staff sat the candidate for member-
ship and his assistant. The relatives and friends of
candidates were busy bringing in horses, guns,
and great quantities of lodge goods, as well as
numerous blankets and articles of mens clothing,
etc. These were the payments for membership [424]
which were laid down near the groups about the
staffs, and were then taken possession of and car-
ried away by wives, daughters or other relatives of
the old members.

Property changed hands in a lively manner for over an hour. When all the necessary and voluntary payments had been made and the space in the centre of the enclosure was clear, the ceremonies of initiation and installment were prepared for. First of all a small fire was built in the centre, for red-hot coals were necessary to make incense. When the fire had burnt down sufficiently for the purpose, each candidate, or his assistant, went to it and took upon a forked stick, a single coal which he carried with great care to his altar, which was a spot 12 or 14 inches square between the staff and where each candidate and companion sat.

These altars were made as the Indians usually
make them, simply by cutting and scraping away
the sod to the depth of an inch or more. An [787]
Indian standing near me remarked that should
one of the men have dropped to the ground the
coal he was carrying between the fire and the
altar, it would have been considered a bad omen.

The 18 coals were all safely deposited at the

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

centre of the 18 altars, and the old members 575
made incense by sprinkling upon them a small 796 ●
quantity of dried grass. Each old member next 432
made four passes with his hands from incense to the bag on the staff and then untied it and after passing it [four times to the altar] he laid it upon the ground. The bags were at once opened and the head dresses etc., which they contained were taken out and exposed to view. Each candidate [302]
was now painted by the old member whose regalia and position in the Society he was about to acquire. Some were painted red, others yellow; in all cases they were painted from head to foot. Some had their faces painted jet black and a red stripe from ear to ear across the eyes and another red stripe across the mouth. In the meantime, the wives of 4 of those who sat behind the short staffs were putting together 4 large war bonnets which they stuck upon the staffs. A number of dark clouds from the north were at this time overshadowing the camp and from them a few drops of rain were falling, the appearance in fact was in favour of a rainy afternoon. Running Wolf, two [782]
other men and Running Wolf's wife stood up in [789]
a row facing the entrance and behind them stood an old man who in a loud voice prayed that the rain storm should pass to one side or the other and not interfere with the sacred proceedings. He prayed 4 times with a pause between each.

White Calf now took down, or rather pulled up, Running Wolf's staff and held it horizontally over the altar. In a loud voice he made a prayer, [782]
and when near the end of it, he put a daub or two [531]
of red earth paint upon it. At the conclusion of the prayer he covered the pole from one end to the other with the red earth which was mixed with grease and of a pink shade. When White Calf had finished, all the other poles were taken up by the instructor of old members and painted in the same manner, but all the short staffs and some of the long ones were yellow. From each of the bags before mentioned, was taken a long strip of fur with which to wrap the long staffs from end

[p.205-A]

to end. With slow and deliberate motions this 575
part was performed. Gathering up the whole strip 796
in a bunch in his hand, the old instructor passed 432
it 4 times to the altar and then tied one end
securely to the extremity of the crook. He then
proceeded to wind the fur spirally and closely
down the length of the staff covering the wood
completely. None of the fur was allowed to touch
the ground during the operation. At the lower [237]
end, 4 foot of the pole, the wrapping was fastened [824]
again, and against it was bound some braided and
dried grass used by this Society for incense and a
dried bladder bag of the buffalo.

Running Wolf's crook was wrapped with [237]
white swan's skin, the others with otter. All the fur was about one inch in width. All of the long staffs and the spear were wrapped as described, each with the grass and bladders at the bottom. At the end of each crook and at three places down its length was tied a bunch of two eagle feathers, the spear alone had a 4 or 5 inch strip of black and white cotton tied loosely to its full length. The wife of the chief of the outgoing members now took the swan-covered staff, and wearing a small horned head dress also of white swan skin, she walked over and took up a position near the entrance but facing inwards. She also carried in her arms a bundle of clothing rolled in a blanket. Bear Back Bone next got up, wearing nothing but a breech cloth and moccasins, and stooping low, with a slow and solemn pace, he approached the woman; close behind him walked Running Wolf, also stooping or rather hiding behind the others. When Bear Back Bone [the name was actually Bear Shin Bone] reached the squaw, he straightened up to his height and, after reverently passing his hands from the top of her head to the shoulders, he kissed her upon the left cheek. She then handed him the pole and headdress. Running Wolf next lifted his head up and with same solemn pass with the hands also kissed her and received from her the bundle of clothing. They slowly returned to their place in the circle,

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

stooping as before, the squaw bringing up the 575
rear. 796
The same ceremony was gone through with 432
the 4 large war bonnets, but the latter moved in a
direction contrary to the course of the Sun while
the others followed it. The candidates were at [782]
once dressed in their new clothing and Running
Wolf, Bear Back Bone and another stood up in a
row as before, while White Calf 4 times prayed
aloud that the rain should not fall. The blanket
Bear Back Bone had received was folded up and
laid upon the ground. Its owner took a kneeling
position, facing it. White Calf made a pass with
both hands from the altar to Bear Back Bone's
head, one to his shoulder, a 3rd to his waist and
the 4th to his hips, giving this time a gentle push
at which Bear Back Bone jumped nimbly over the
blanket without altering his stooping position. He
sat upon the blanket while Running Wolf was
put through the same maneuver, then all ditto.

This finished the installment of the new 575
members and now they prepared for the dance. 796
Four drums we brought in and deposited at the 432
middle of the circle, and the head-dresses were all
placed upon their new owners. An old Chief 535
"Morning Paper" [Morning Writing] counted 4 [555]
coups, and the drummers struck up at once. All
the staffs were pulled up and all the men, new
members, old, and instructors, jumped to their
feet and the dance began. The step was one
peculiar to the Society, and a rather lively one for
some of the older men to perform. They held
their poles in front, lowering the tops to about an
angle of 45 degrees. At intervals they would reverse
all together and dance facing the low wall of
the enclosure. They all made a continual peculiar
sound, something between a coo and a low shout
and in time to the drums. The dance lasted about
4 minutes, during which they reversed 4 or 5
times. Next they formed a procession, led by one
wearing a large war bonnet which had an arrow
sticking in head piece. They danced towards the
entrance. As many times as the leader reversed, all

[p.206-1]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

followed suit; after many times turning about, 575
they approached the entrance and the leader went 796 ●
out and the procession followed in the form of 432
one irregular column with the squaws bringing up 535
the rear, carrying the short staff. They danced towards the east and between the lodges until, when quite outside of the camp, a halt was made and the procession reformed. Running Wolf mounted a white horse and the second leader of the Horns mounted a dark one. These two riders took positions far in the lead, about one hundred yards ahead, and the same distance from each other. Fifteen of the others formed a line; behind them walked the 4 drummers in a second line, and the women as before brought up the rear in a
third line. Midway between the line of men and [237]
each rider was a dismounted man; one of them had in his hand an Indian standard, an otter skin [actually a fisher skin] decorated with beads and bells. They marched in this way around to the Southern side of the camp, the drums beating time but not loudly. When about ¼ the distance around the camp had been made, or when they were opposite the South side, they halted and danced a few minutes. The mounted men dismounted and danced where they stood, their horses being held by boys. The march was renewed as before. A second halt and dance at the West, a 3rd at the north and a 4th at the East, the spot where they had first formed a line, completed the outside of the camp march and they prepared to reenter the camp by taking the same positions and formation as when they came out. Dancing all together, the tom-toms beating loudly, they returned to the centre of the camp space.

Their enclosure had in the meantime been 575
taken down and carried away, but they all sat 196
down near where it had been and in about the 432
same positions that they had held inside of it. The 4 large war bonnet wearers took them off and
hung them up upon their short staffs. When they [271]
had been sitting, resting for half an hour, a

[p. 206-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

woman appeared and stood about 50 yards to the 575
East of them, holding in her hands a bowl of 796
water. Two of the dancers got up and slowly 432
walked towards her, as before stooping low, one
behind the other. The leading man kissed her, in [271]
the same solemn fashion as before, received from
her the water, some of which he drank and after
passing the bowl to his companion, who had in
the meantime also kissed the squaw, he handed
her a small bundle of clothing. The other man
now finished drinking and deposited the empty
bowl upside down upon the ground at the feet of
the woman. They now returned, as they came, to
their places and the squaw picked up the bowl
and went home. Two other women brought water
for the thirsty and the same performance was
gone through. In one case three men came out
instead of two. These squaws were the wives of [432]
late members of the Society, and considered that
they were doing a very sacred duty in allowing

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 207-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1891]

themselves to be publicly kissed. In fact there was 575
not a smile upon the face of any of the actors, 796●
nothing to suggest anything other than a religious 432
duty, but I could not restrain a smile as I saw
Spotted Bull, who is a notorious wag, solemnly [832]
kissing the wife of Mas-tak-ath who is one of the
most handsome women in the tribe. White Calf [782]
stood behind two men and a woman, facing the
East, and shouted aloud a prayer. They then
faced the South, he prayed again; changing to the
West again, he called out a prayer and finally
repeating with faces to the North they all sat
down.

A group of women and old people, not members 575
of the Society, were sitting near the circle of 796
dancers, for the purpose of having prayers 432
shouted over them. The dancers stood close to
these sitting people and facing them always so 535
that they had to move in a circle themselves in
facing the 4 different directions. This performance
was repeated by two other parties of four
persons each. Next a dance was indulged in. The
main party danced in a circle around those sitting
on the ground, being led by one with the arrow in
his war bonnet. The other three with large headdresses
danced outside of the rest and circled in
the opposite direction, and against the Sun. The
speed was increased to a fast hop and then the
leader stopped suddenly and without turning
hopped backwards 5 or 6 times for perhaps half of
the circle, during which they reversed as often as
they halted. After a brief pause the dance was
repeated and, in all, it was done 4 times; then all
sat down. Running Wolf's crook was carried over [555]
to some old men who sat about 50 yards to the
north of the party; one of these took Running
Wolf's crook and counted 4 coups. The drummers
beat an applause or response after each coup
and the crook was carried back to its owner. The
same was done for the second leader.

After a rather extended rest, they all got up and the closing dance was performed. "Little Shield," the wearer of the war bonnet with the arrow in it, not being an active man, handed his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210-A]

[p. 208-B]

head-dress to Spotted Bull, because the final 575
dance had to be led by the regalia. Around the 796
circle they rapidly hopped. The Leader was 432
closely followed by two of the other large war
bonnets, the 4th one along circling in the oppo- 535
site direction and outside the rest.

A dense crowd had gathered about the dance by this time. After dancing around the circle several times, the leader made a feint to go through the crowds of people at the east and each time he came around he danced a little closer, being driven back through by the boys and young men who shook their blankets at him as they would at an animal. Someone handed Spotted Bull a rifle and the next time he came around to the East, he, still hopping, charged right at the people. Blankets were shaken in his face and the crowd did not give way for him until he fired a shot over their heads, at which all fell back allowing the procession to dance out into the open ground. The assembled crowd now dispersed.

The Society returned to where they had been 575
sitting and waited there until the lodges of two of 796
their members were taken down in the camp and [346]
moved over to them by the women. The members
then took charge of the material of the two lodges and out of it constructed one big oblong lodge into which they entered. This was their permanent abode for the remainder of the time the Bloods were in camp. This society did not dance again, but religious duties and the rites were per-
formed by them every day afterwards. Such is the [784]
dance of the mysterious order of Atskiniax, about whose sacred rites the middle-aged will talk in whispers to you, telling you every few minutes that it is very dangerous to talk about it at all.

OUR OWN HORNS TRANSFER

The new Horns have made a concerted effort to 575
regain the respect of the People and to learn as 186
much about the Ways of their society as they can from former members who are still living. They

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

have carefully traced the disposition of all the 575
missing society Bundles, locating ten of them, and, 186
as of this writing, are negotiating for their return
to the society.

For some time before last summer's Horns 575
membership transfer ceremony, families of the 432
new members went around the camp circle, one
at a time, displaying their payments for the mem- [424]
bership. Old People walked ahead of each proces-
sion, calling out the name of the new member [887]
and singing words of praise for him. Mokakin was
the most popular man in camp for this duty, and
before long his voice was so hoarse and broken he
could barely be heard. Among the processions he
led was one for Ponah's nephew, Cyril Red Crow.
To help him with his payments, his sister and her
husband, Stabs Down, paid the quarter horse we
had given to them some time earlier when we
took our Medicine Pipe. Most of the horses [292]
shown as payments were covered with fine blan-
kets, while those who led them wore buckskin
suits, and eagle feather headdresses. All these
goods were to be given as payments.

The transfer ceremony was held inside a 575
fenced circular enclosure. Spectators crowded out- 432
side to see functions similar to those described by 796●
Wilson. Within the enclosure was a large crowd
of old members, new members, and former mem-
bers, all with their wives. The former members
served as advisors to both old and new members.
A couple of the retiring members were South Pie- [484]
gans who had come up for the occasion from
Montana.

When the new members had made their
rounds outside the camp circle, they were pre-
ceded by their leaders, one on a black horse and
one on a white, just as Wilson observed. The [292]
dance leader wore the ancient headdress with a
feather stuck in the front to represent the arrow
once shot into the forehead of a long-ago, simi-
larly headdressed dance leader. The original arrow
remained lodged in its place while the wearer of
the headdress led his party of Bloods to a victory
against the enemy. This battle and victory are re- [541]

[p.210-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Horns Society Transfer Ceremony, 1972]

575
432

Atsitsina and relatives displaying the saddle horse, shawl, and headdress being paid by Fred Eagle Plume for his membership in the Horns. [435] [424]

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enacted during each summer's dance, the symbolic battle ending when the leader fires his gun into the air and charges through the crowd of children, who are the "enemy." 575 432 796

As part of their performance, the Horns gave away rations of food to all the adults in the crowd. At the same time, the staffs of the two leaders were blessed by two old men who each called out four brave deeds. The leader's Swan Staff was brought to our Old Man; it had once been his, when he had been leader of the Horns. He called out four exploits of horse raiding, and said a prayer. The other staff was taken to Ben Calf Robe, the old man who had come down to visit the encampment from his home on the North Blackfoot Reserve. He had also been a member of the Horns Society, which is now inactive there. [541] [431] [782] [555] [887]

[p.211-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

A 1935 ACCOUNT: GEORGE FIRST RIDER

To complete this story, here is an excerpt from George First Rider's narrative of a past Horns Society.

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During the winter in the year 1935, the Horns Society started to collect. My partner, Elk Bear, was given the authority to hold the collections. He said, "My friend First Rider will hold the money collections." The Horns members all agreed for me to hold the money. That day my life was still bad, [because of] my drinking, stealing, and all the bad habits in my life. But still I was given the job to be the treasurer. At pay days [when the People received treaty payments], I collected the money. I even had a secretary to keep the files. I had come to think of the job as religious, so I thought I'd stand good on it. . . .

So, the Horns Society collected $500—and I held the money. The Horns members said, "We will give $250 to the one that is going to sponsor an Okan so she can use the money to buy what she needs." Then the Horns Society members selected the major Bundle Owners [of Society Bundles]: four men were selected, I was one of them, and two of us went east on the reserve, two to the west, to tell all the Blood People of the coming assembly. . . .

In two days the Blood Indians were all at the circle camp. Two days after that, the Horns Society went around visiting the women that could sponsor Holy Lodges, but none volunteered. Since no one volunteered, we invited the owner of the Motokiks Center Pole [the leader of that society] to sit outside our tipi. She couldn't come inside because only members and their wives are allowed in the double-lodge of the Horns. She was told to erect her lodge. She was given $100 to put up her Motokiks lodge. We kept the other $400. At this point she assembled the Motokiks. . . .

On the night of the fourth day at the camps,

[p. 211-B]

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Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

the Horns Society members and the Motokiks assembled, standing in a line outside the Horns lodge, and chanted a song. Then came an announcement. Low Horn spoke: "Okaha-aaai! In the coming morning the Horns are going to have a dance. This coming morning the Motokiks will build their lodge. Medicine Pipe Owners, Beaver Bundle Owners, Pigeons, and All Brave Dogs—get yourselves ready to beat your livers! [An ancient expression which meant to have an exciting dance.] 796 575

In the morning I took my team and my wagon and with some members and another, empty wagon, we all went to Cree Speaker at Stand Off. [Cree Speaker was a white man named McNeill who could speak the Cree language. He had a general store and post office on the west side of the Belly River, at Stand Off.] The monies were $400, so we took some grub with $100, then we drove back. The place where we were going to have our dance was already staked out, so the grub was unloaded there and the wagons were taken away. [443]

Then we went inside the Horns lodge. There, we untied our Society Bundles and painted all the Staffs. . . . We bound them, fixed up our headdresses, and painted our faces with yellow paint. . . . I painted my face with yellow paint and with red painted streaks across my face. [302]

The drummers came in and sat inside the door. They sat with their backs to the fireplace [because they were not current members] and then they sang. . . . As they sang we danced out the door and formed a line outside. . . . We danced forward four times and then we danced to the east exit of the camp circle. With the black horse on the outside and the white horse on the inside toward the camp circle, the riders mounted and we went forward. . . . 796 575 535

The leader walked on the South side, behind the rider. He owns the headdress that was shot in the forehead. [This is the dance leader, not the

[p. 212-A]

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Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

society leader.] The White-Arch-Staff owner rode 796
in front. [This is the staff wrapped with a white 535
swan skin and carried by the society's leader.] 575
The owner of the Arm Band rode across behind. [This is the secondary leader of the society.] The riders dismounted and we all danced. . . .

The riders walked their horses real fast. The drummers walked behind. Behind the drummers are the Horn Society women [wives of the members] on foot. Behind them are more riders; they are just mounted spectators. . . .

When we got all the way around the camp circle we danced back in at the east side. The leader danced in front. We danced four by four. We got up to the double-lodge on the fourth song, and the singing stopped. We stood in order. We all had tipi pegs and an oblong stone ready. Everyone was hammering pegs into the ground [to make holes] and then we all stuck the arch staffs into the holes. . . . We all put our robes behind the staffs and everybody sat down in order. The women sat in the centre.

Now the grub. There was a cow that was [262]
slaughtered, and some berry soups, and there
were some white-man fruits to make puddings. [264]
The Horns distributed the food, and after every-
one ate we got up and danced. The People who
made vows to dance with Horns Society staffs
danced with a staff. The Horns danced four times [431]
and they stopped dancing, and then they gave
away the things that they received. [A person who [432]
vows to dance with a certain staff will give its [424]
owner some kind of payment for getting to share
the Power of that staff.] After we gave away the [782]
stuff, the staff owners pulled out their staffs and
pegs. When a staff is pulled out, a pinch of to- [276]
bacco is put in the hole and then the hole is
tamped shut. . . .

Next, we went outside where a crowd of spectators formed around in a circle to watch the dancing. The leader led us around in the dance. There were a lot of girls and boys standing, watching on the east side. This is the time when the

[p.212-8]

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Blood

[Horns Society 1935]

leader took a rifle. Nobody saw it. It was wrapped; it was hidden. . . . 796 535

On the fourth dance [each dance consists of four rounds within the circle] we all stood in line. . . . During the start of this fourth and final dance, the leader danced in zigzag motion; he danced just like as if he was dodging enemy arrows. The children, boys and girls, threw manure at him. The leader continued dancing in zigzag motion, dodging from side to side, and the dancers behind him performed in the same manner. . . . Our leader was Low Horn. He danced just like as if he [was] going to charge. He danced a little ways out and then he turned and retreated. Then he danced right into the midst of the children before he was forced to turn back. The boys and girls were throwing manure at him. He was moving his head from side to side so that the manure would not hit him on the face. The manure was not thrown with full force. 575 [237]

Low Horn danced around again, holding the rifle in front of him, pointed up. . . . As the children were screaming, he danced right into the midst of them. He fired a shot and the children all fell down just as though they were killed.

The Horns members walked through the fallen children to the lodge, where we stuck our staffs into the ground, and then we wiped off our facial paints.

OTHER SOCIETIES

Today the Horns and Motokiks are the only traditional societies still active among our People. We don't know that any other women's society ever existed, but men used to have several to join, according to their age group and their experiences as warriors and leaders. Let me give you a brief Teaching about these societies so that you will understand how our People were motivated to form them and why they have respect for them. 575 [178] [561]

[p. 213-A]

around them. The societies for older men were 575
chosen for these duties. 625

There were seven men's societies in the Old
Days. Together, all their members were known as [361]
Ichkunakatsiiks, or "All-Comrades." These so-
cieties included the Mosquitoes, Braves, Crow- 575
Carriers, Brave Dogs, Horns, Black Soldiers (or 561
Black Seizers), and Bulls. In later years of the
Old Days, the Bulls Society became extinct, while
the Pigeon Society formed in its place. The
youngest groups were the Pigeons and Mosqui-
toes; the oldest were the Horns, Black Soldiers,
and Bulls. The ultimate in a warrior's life was to [554]
have been a member of all the societies.

The younger societies were mainly social. The Pigeons were originally boys who had not gone on any war raids. By the time they had been on a few, they usually became members of the Mosquito Society.

The Mosquitoes are said to have originated [787]
in the dream of a man who lay naked out on the
prairie and let swarms of mosquitoes suck blood
from him. While he was unconscious afterward, a
mosquito came to him and gave him the society
for his generosity. Each member would wear an [237]
eagle claw upon each wrist, to represent the
mosquito's bill. During ceremonies, the members [626]
would use the claw to scratch those who got in
their way. Anyone who resisted their symbolic [796] ●
scratches would be fallen upon by all the mem-
bers and severely scratched.

Each society had a ceremonial dance, during 575
which the members had their faces and bodies 796
painted and wore their society insignias. The sig- [535]
nificant part of the Braves' ceremonial dance was
the end, when all the members ran north out of
the camp circle and threw their moccasins into
the air to symbolize the discovery of a buffalo
herd. It is said that one time the barefoot mem-

bers suddenly noticed they were facing a large 575
enemy war party that had concealed itself near 796
the camp. The Braves, carrying only their spears,
stood little chance in a direct encounter, so the
society leader ordered the members to resume
dancing. The performance so impressed the
enemy that they retreated.

Within these societies were usually two 575
members known as Bears. These Bears had the 554
publicly accepted right to appropriate food from
someone for the use of all the members. If they [425]
saw a successful hunter returning home they
could demand a portion of his meat to be used as
a meal for the society. The Bears could be identi- [292]
fied by their painting, clothing, and other insig-
nias, especially a headdress made from a strip of [237]
bear fur with two claws attached to resemble
small horns on the wearer's head. Percy Creighton [439]
bought one of these headdresses from old Gam-
bler and sold it to Mrs. Walters for forty-five dol- [435]
lars. It had belonged to the Brave Dogs Society.

Some of our older men are still members of 575
the now-inactive Brave Dogs Society, as it is
known among our division. The Piegans call the
same group the Crazy Dogs Society. Meetings of [619]
one group may be attended by members from
other divisions. They can often be recognized dur- [531]
ing our social dances, or powwows, by their mem-
bership insignias—individually painted rawhide [237]
rattles, which they carry suspended from their [534]
wrists by fur straps. Traditionally, each member
painted his face according to the design on his [302]
rattle.

Social societies of male contemporaries are 575
still formed among our People. Today there are 178
the Red Belts, the Magpies, and the Parted-Hairs.
One group, called the Baggy Underwears, is making an effort to take on a new name.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Mountain Horse, leader of the Crow Carriers Society, dressed for battle. He wears a Medicine
headdress, as well as a weasel-tail suit of shirt and leggings. Each of these articles was transferred [422]
ceremonially. Symbols of scalps he has taken are tied to his rifle. The hand on his horse represents
an enemy he killed in a hand-to-hand encounter; the two large spots represent places where horses [776]
he was riding were shot in battle. On the horse behind him is old Bumble Bee, who is holding a
staff of the Crow Carrier's Society. Bumble Bee enlisted in the armed forces at the same time as [703]
did several of Mountain Horse's sons. However, he could speak no English and refused to cut his
hair, so he was sent back home. Before he left he is said to have told the other Blood soldiers: (177]
"Don't be foolish like those white soldiers. They call off the war every day at mealtime. You boys
want to keep on shooting, even if you see them sitting down to eat." (Glenbow Archives)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

Grass Dancing

Our People have always been willing to accept the 177
Ways of other People if they could be fit into our 796
traditions. In that manner we adopted the Grass 535
Dance, traditionally an important function
among the Omaha People, apparently celebrated
by their Central Plains neighbors for many years.
A ceremonial dance with many symbolic details, [799]
its purpose was to spiritually encourage the prairie
grass to grow tall, which would mean more food
for the buffalo. That's why it became known as
the Grass Dance. The dance was eagerly adopted
by other tribes, including the Crow, Sioux, and
the Assiniboine (from whom our People obtained
it).

During the final years of the war days, a 173
Blood man named Sitting Bull led a party to the 177
east to raid the Assiniboine People. The Assini- 796
boines are relatives of the Sioux, or Dakota, 535
People, whom we commonly call Parted-Hairs, 721
due to their custom of parting their hair down the
middle. They hid themselves in the brush on top [416]
of a nearby hill, watching the camp through Sit-
ting Bull's field glasses to decide on a strategy to
raid it.

When evening came, the Assiniboines did not go into their lodges, but instead gathered in a circle inside their encampment. One man went out behind a lodge and took down from a tripod a large drum, around which several men gathered. They began by beating a fast, steady rhythm. Soon dancers emerged from the lodges. Their

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

dress and actions reminded the Bloods of prairie 173
chickens during mating season: they stooped low 177
and shuffled their feet quickly, while swaying 796 ●
their bodies slowly from side to side. In this manner 535
they approached the drum from all directions. 721
When they had gathered around the drum, the drummers began a slower beat, to which they sang a pleasant song.

Sitting Bull and his party watched and listened all night long. By the time the dance was over it was too late for the party to attempt to raid the camp. The following night the same thing took place again. By this time some of Sitting Bull's men began to sing along with the songs to amuse themselves.

It was not until several nights later that Sitting Bull and his men raided the Assiniboine camp. Sitting Bull went straight to the tripod and took down the drum, which he brought back home with him. The party captured a number of horses and returned to the Blood camps safely. With the songs they had learned on the hillside, and Sitting Bull's captured drum, they introduced the first aspects of the Grass Dance among the Bloods.

Our People learned more about the Grass 535
Dance after the days of raiding enemy tribes were 439
over. Robert Wilson photographed a group of [422]
visiting Assiniboines in 1891, while they were exchanging [424]
the songs and regalia of the Grass Dance with our People for horses. Such exchanges

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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[796] [785] Sitting Bull—the Blood—with his two wives and his children. The boy at the left later became one of the last four men to fulfill self-torture vows, during the 1892 Medicine Lodge ceremony. This scene was taken around 1880, and must have been of a hunting camp, due to the unusual crudeness of the tipi poles and cover. Among his sons were Calling High and Jim Wells.

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A group of visiting Assiniboine men wearing Grass Dance regalia, which they traded for Blood horses in 1893. Blood spectators are watching the dance in the background. Assiniboine singers are seated around the drum in the foreground. (R. N. Wilson)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

[Grass Dance]

raid and we used it for getting people up to dance. 535

A person will make a vow—it is very hard. A 535
person will say, to get better or whatever, that he 796
will eat a dog. We don't usually eat dogs. . . . [782]
On the day of the dance a pup will be boiled.
The dog is taken out with a special forked stick [262]
and an eagle feather is used for licking the dog. [412]
The one that made the vow, he will provide all
the food, just like at our Nighttime ceremonies.
The dance hall will be filled with people. Eight
people who will eat the dog will be sitting at the
front. They will pray and count coups. Then the [782]
ceremony will begin.

First, two handsome men will pick up the
boiling kettle. . . . We will sing and the two men
will dance around the circle four times. On the
last time they will pick up the kettle and bring
it to the front and set it down before the eight
men. Everyone will watch very quietly. The dog
will be really soft-boiled.

When the kettle is set down, the eight men [626]
will pray and make oaths that they are telling
the truth. The first one who eats will eat the dog's [325]
head. It is the most Powerful. In the Old Days
when we were really mad and we killed an enemy, [266]
we used to eat some part of him—that is what
the Old People used to say. That is why we are [101]
called Blood Indians—we only quit when we are
all bloody. . . .

If some of the younger men can't stand to eat [431]
any of the dog, they will ask an older man, "Will
you eat this for me? I will give you a horse." They
paid a good horse or other goods to have someone
eat the dog meat for them. We will sing four
times. Everyone will get up after each song and
shout [a war yell]*. They will raise one hand. After*
the second song they will raise both hands. Then
they will take the dog out of the kettle.

The last time I saw a Grass Dance, Mark Old
Shoes was the dancer who picked the dog from
the kettle. He stabbed the dog and danced four
times around the pot before he picked it up.
Some people will say they are Powerful and go
and lick the dog. . . .

[p.221-8]

through the edge of his shirt; neither had gotten 721
hurt. 608

Now this is strange: one's name was Striped [553]
Wolf and the other's Striped Bird—just about
the same name. They exchanged names. They
shook hands and kissed, and became like brothers.
All the Gros Ventre's relatives gave Striped Wolf [431]
a lot of presents—money, blankets, and other
things. They remained good friends until they
died.

THE HANGING OF CHARCOAL

Charcoal's days ended in 1897 at the age of thirty- 682
nine, on the gallows at Fort MacLeod. Before his [551]
death, Tsako, as our People nicknamed him, be-
came the most wanted man on Canada's western
frontier.

Wilson wrote of Charcoal as a participant in 778
a Nighttime Ceremony and recorded that he had 425
owned a number of Medicines for which he sang
songs: painted lodge and flag; painted lodge; Sioux
sword for the Grass Dance; Horns Society; Moun-
tain-Trim Tipi; Soldier's Society Pipe; Weasel-tail
buckskin suits; Dogs Society; and bear knife. This [411]
last sacred article was a huge dagger with a handle [237]
made from a bear's jawbone. It was sought after
and owned only by Powerful warriors. During the [796]
transfer ceremony for this knife, the new Owner
was forced to strip and roll on a bed of thorns. At [785]
the end of the transfer the former Owner would
hurl the sacred knife at the new Owner, who
could have it if he survived and caught it.

Charcoal had two wives. One was faithful to 682
him, but the other, Pretty Wolverine Woman, was 837
fickle and wild. Although she had been married to
Charcoal for about five years, everyone in camp [595]
knew that she and a young man named Medicine
Pipe Stem were lovers. They had been seen to-
gether while she went out after water. Charcoal's
relative, Eagle Bear, had talked to her several
times and warned her that her husband could
punish her for her actions. Charcoal was known [411]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 28D-B]
[p. 279-B]

excitement and shooting that some of our horses 000
stampeded out of the camp. I became a member 796
of the Crazy Dogs Society at that time. I stayed 177
with my relatives at my uncle's lodge until the 657
Medicine Lodge ceremony, when we had a lot
of trouble with the Mounties. The Mounties [575]
wanted to arrest Calf Robe again, because he had threatened them with a gun the first time they arrested him. Calf Robe decided to make up for not fighting in the battle with us, so he fought the Mounties in the Medicine Lodge, and the Mounties got beat up pretty bad. And that is the end of my story.

THE FIGHT IN THE MEDICINE LODGE IN 1889

The incident in which the Mounties tried to arrest Calf Robe inside the Medicine Lodge is talked about by our Old People as "the time we had a war with the Red Coats." Some of our People thought that the Mounties came to stop our men from performing the self-torture ceremony.

Two men underwent that ceremony in 1889, Heavy Head and Tough Bread. However, the Mounties did not arrive until the day after this took place.

Here is how Grandma AnadaAki remembers 796
her stepfather Heavy Head's story of his self- 785
torture and what followed:

My father said that he went through the [292]
torture barefooted and without any clothes except a breechcloth. They cut him in the tipi where the holy woman stays. He said that other men were usually cut in the Medicine Lodge. He said that somebody told him to ask for deep cuts, so that
they would not cut very deep. They painted him [302]
all over with sacred white clay, and designs were
painted on his face with red paint and black [778]
paint. They tied sage around his wrists and his [824]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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ankles. When they cut him, he said that he felt 776
like his heart was being cut out of his body. His 785
body was all bloody by the time they got him [824]
fixed up. They even cut his back and tied a shield
to it.

From the holy woman's tipi he was made to [535]
dance to the Medicine Lodge. The wind blew on [152]
his wounds and caused him so much pain that
he cried all the way there. When he got inside he [782]
hugged the Center Pole and prayed, then he
leaned back on the ropes that somebody tied
from the top of the Pole to his chest. He leaned [533]
back real hard and jumped up and down and
sideways while the drummers sang a song. He
said that he jumped real hard because the pain
was so bad that he wanted to tear the ropes off
fast, but they didn't tear out. Black Eagle took
a stick and hit the rope hard and the skin broke
on that side. But my dad stopped him from hitting
the other side because of the pain. Big Wolf
grabbed him by his hair and pulled him back so
hard that the other side broke. Black Eagle was [555]
counting some coups so that he could cut the
loose skin off my dad's body. He cut the skin off [752]
and he put gunpowder on the wounds. After that
my dad was sent away to sleep and look for a vision.
That was when they had the riot inside the
Medicine Lodge.

My father said that he walked westward from
the camp until he came to the Belly River where
he slept on top of a cutbank. He could hardly
sleep that night from all the pain of his wounds.
The next day he was walking around by the river
when his relatives found him. They warned him
not to walk back into the middle of the trouble at
the Medicine Lodge. By the time they all got 776
back home together the trouble was over and the 657
People were packing up their camps to go home. 177
The men were angry and had their guns all ready
in case the Mounties came back to fight again.
Some of the Mounties had gone into the Medicine
Lodge to arrest old Calf Robe while the
men were just in there telling war stories. Those

[p.300-B]

police had no right to walk into the Holy Lodge 796 ●
that way. They were crazy. By the time they left 657
they didn't have their guns anymore and some 177
***of their clothes were torn from them. They didn't
take Calf Robe with them either. That is what
I remember about my stepfather's story—Heavy
Head.***

Mounted Police Superintendent Steele wrote 114
a lengthy report to his superior about the last real
war party and about the fight in the Medicine
Lodge in 1889. Although Steele was known for
being a gentleman, his views about our People
and our Old Ways was typical of the white settlers. Listen to some of his comments: [127]

The Blood and Piegan Indians, whose reserves are located in this district [Fort MacLeod], 657 177
have given considerable trouble and annoyance
during the past year, and unless some great 273
change takes place, it will not be lessened. The members of both tribes take every opportunity of procuring liquor of any description on every possible occasion. In fact, they even indulge in smuggling it across the line for their own use. This and horse stealing are the main causes of all our trouble with them; it seems impossible for them to resist indulging their apparent natural inclinations in this direction.

On the 2nd of July the "Sun Dance" commenced on the Blood Reserve. On the 4th, a con- 657 177
stable from the Stand Off detachment then on duty at the Sun Dance reported to me at Mac- 796
Leod, that Sergeant Hilliard and two constables had tried to arrest an Indian, "Calf Robe," for pointing a gun at constable Zinkham, when trying to arrest him for horse stealing some time previous, and as the Sun Dance was then in progress, some 200 or 300 of the Bucks assisted in rescuing "Calf Robe" from the police. On the following morning I ordered Inspector Wood, in command of a small party, to proceed to Stand Off and investigate the matter; he returned the following

day, bringing with him several of the Indians who 657
participated in obstructing the police in doing 177
their duty. They were placed in the guard room. [796]

On the 8th of July, the five Indians that were placed in custody were brought before me and Inspector Wood, for their preliminary trial, Indian Agent Pocklington appearing for the defence. They were committed for trial at the next sitting of the Supreme Court, which was held on the 5th August, Indian Agent Pocklington and their chief, "Red Crow," going their bail pending the sitting of the court. The Crown prosecutor thought before the trial came off that there had been a good case made out, that the Indians had no cause or right to assault the police, even had there been no arrest warrants issued; but the judge . . . threw out the case. . . . In making this arrest, the non-commissioned officer was not in possession of a warrant, but I consider he acted perfectly right, there being so many bad Indians wanted at times that unless a man takes every chance offered he will likely lose his man altogether, as they give very few opportunities for arresting.

The impression has gone abroad that the Sun 657
Dance is a religious festival; it may have been 177
regarded as such at one time, but the experience 796
of nearly all those whose dealings and occupations have brought them in close contact with the Indians, and who are well acquainted with their manners and customs, do not now consider it as such. It has degenerated into a gathering merely for the purpose of using up presents of tea, tobacco, &c., given them by their agents or begged from their white neighbors. It is a festival that should be discouraged; it has the effect of reviving too vividly old associations. Old warriors take this occasion of relating their experiences of former days, counting their scalps and giving the numbers of horses they were successful in stealing. This has a pernicious effect on the young men; it makes them unsettled and anxious to emulate the deeds of their forefathers.

21: Húngry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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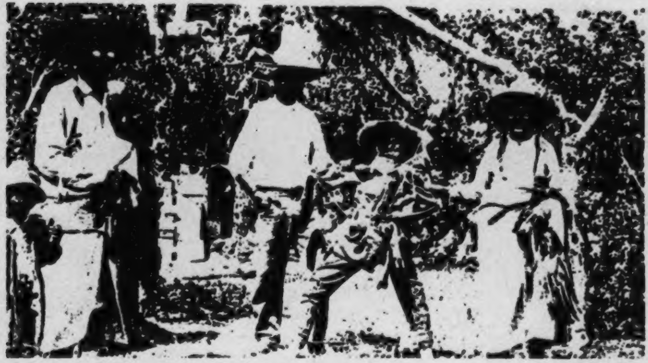

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Omachksi-gohkitotakin, or "Big Corner Post," in the Medicine Lodge of 1928. Big Corner Post was a dummy made up by a band of the same name. For four years it traveled all over the reserve on missions of honor. At Medicine Lodges it often served as the enemy in battle reenactments. The dummy met its end in a fire at the hands of an irate horse-owner. Someone had stolen the man's finest pinto and tied the dummy on top of it. On the following ration day, a crier went around and announced that Big Corner Post had been arrested for horse stealing and punished by being burnt up. In this photo, with the dummy, from left to right, are: Dog Child; old Bill Heavy Runner; and Rough Hair. (Glenbow Archives) [552] [796] [203]

[P-309-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

SUN DANCE ENCAMPMENTS OF THE 1940s

A series of photographs taken by Arnold Lupson
Courtesy of the Glenbow Archives

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● 796

[778]
[432]

Bobtail Chief leads the capturing party back to the ceremonial tipi during the transfer of the Long-Time Pipe to Henry Standing Alone, who is being carried in a blanket. Behind Bobtail Chief are Iron, Morning Bird, and Crow-Spreads-His-Wings. The last man is John Many Chiefs.

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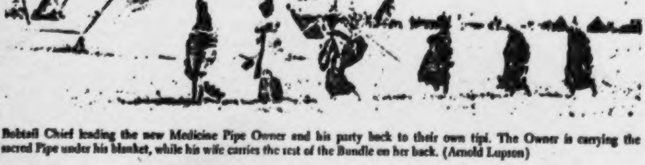
361



[778]
[432]

Bobtail Chief leading the new Medicine Pipe Owner and his party back to their own tipi. The Owner is carrying the sacred Pipe under his blanket, while his wife carries the rest of the Bundle on her back. (Arnold Lupson)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Early part of the public dance by the Horns in the 1940's. Jim White Bull leads the dancing Horns, wearing the Headdress-with-an-Arrow. Former members are seated within the dance circle. These scenes look much the same today.

At the end of the public dance by the Horns. Jim White Bull wears the ancient Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. The children on the right represent enemies, who are trying to keep back the advancing Horns. On the next round they will scream with excitement as the dance leader charges towards them with a loaded rifle. As the shot is fired and they fall in symbolic defeat, the Sun Dance Encampment comes to an end for another year.

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[575] Dog Child sings an honoring song for his son, George First Rider, while he leads a saddle horse and a team around the
[583] camp circle to show what is to be paid for his son's membership in the Horns Society. (Arnold Lupson)
[554]
[432] Construction of the sacred sweat lodge for the Medicine Lodge ceremony. One hundred willows are used for its frame. Dog Child is inside the circle, on the right.

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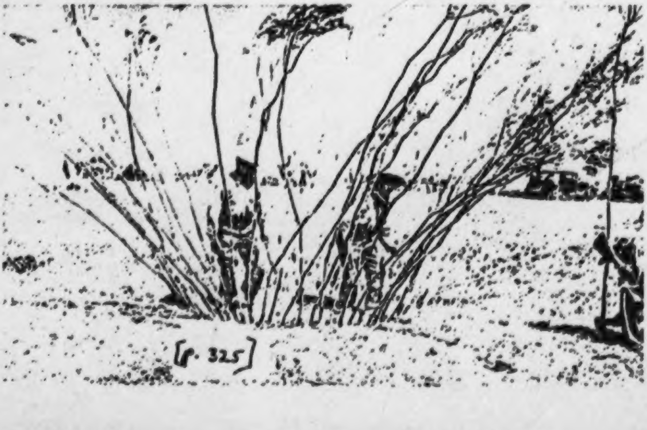

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Members of the Horns Society heading out of camp for the Center Pole. Driving the lead wagon is Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides. On the back of the wagon sits Tom Morning Owl.

Bringing back the Center Pole with a modern rubber-tired wagon in the late 1940s. Four members of the Horns Society are sitting on the Pole, drumming and singing.

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A holy party passing the Center Pole of the Motokiks on their way to the unfinished Medicine Lodge. The man in front is Day Rider, whose wife was the new holy woman of that year. She is the second lady, bending over, with the sacred White Elk Robe. The second man is Crow-Spreads-His-Wings, whose wife is at the rear. The third man is Rides-at-the-Door, who is carrying a scalp from the Natoas Bundle—it is symbolic of the People's victories in life. His wife is behind him. At this time she is the only holy woman among our People.

[778]

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Raising the Center Pole.

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Center Pole raisers waiting with their paired tipi poles to converge on the Medicine Lodge.

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A sacred Pipe about to be offered to the members of the Horse Society for smoking. The Pipe is being held by Day Rider. The Owner of the Pipe stands next to him, wearing the sacred headband. Last Gun, a South Piegan, is calling out his war exploits, while Weasel Tail stands nearby.

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Charlie Reevis, the priest, leading the procession from the holy woman's tipi. The construction in the foreground is an ordinary sweat lodge and not the 100-willow one for the Medicine Lodge people.

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Completed Medicine Lodge. The Striped Tipi is at the right.

431 Inside the Medicine Lodge during a give-away. John Cotton gives a present to one of the visitors seated in the foreground. Behind him, wearing large headdresses, are Jack and Jim Low Horn. Standing in the back, with dark sunglasses, is Guy
346 Wolf Child, dressed in part of his dance outfit.
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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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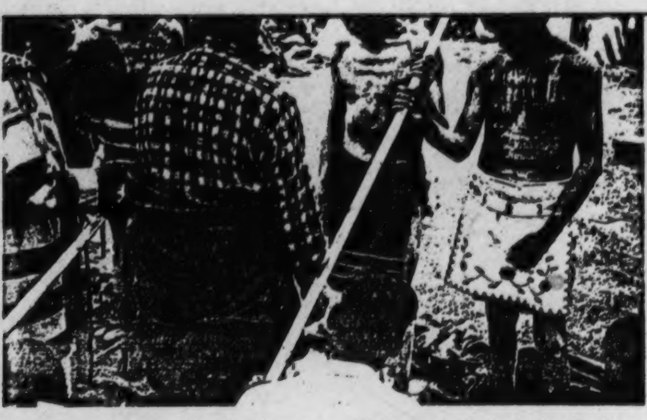

The painted new Horse members listen while old members pray and recite coups in order to paint the staffs and cover them with their sacred wrappings. On the left is Dog Child.

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[622] Circle Dance during social dancing at the Sun Dance of 1939. The designed robe worn by the man on the left used to be a chief's emblem.

a church. Every morning and every night he made 869
incense. He asked for life in his prayers. He prayed [782]
for all of us. . . . At the beginning of summer he
would be really happy when he first heard thunder. [778]
That is when he opened his Bundle. He
would butcher a cow and use it to feed those who [796]
came to the ceremony. We had a good life because [574]
our home was very holy.

Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides is the present head chief of the Blood People. The Bloods have had five chiefs from his family over the past hundred years. His father, old Shot-on-Both-Sides, was the son of Crop-Eared Wolf, who was the adopted son of old Red Crow, who was the nephew of Pinukwiim. All of them were head chiefs. 622

Except for one two-year term, Jim Shot-on-Both-Sides has been head chief since the death of his father in 1958.

The Old People still respect me the same 622
way they respected my father. I don't know about 554
the young people. For instance, when we went
down to Ottawa, they put me first in everything.
Before every meeting began I was asked to pray. [782]
We had meetings at different places and I prayed
at each of them. I prayed so that we would get
what we went for.

[p.332-B]

time." He went on his most notorious raid with 721
the late Henry Standing Alone. They were dis- [784]
covered trying to steal horses and a gunfight fol-
lowed, but no one was seriously hurt.

NinnaOnesta transferred his last Horns 778
Bundle during the Sun Dance last year. He said 575
he had had it for thirty-two years. He has also
been a member of the Horns Society five times.
"Being a Medicine Pipe Owner and belonging to
the Horns both brought me a lot of happiness.
They are both the same to me. You can see how [855]
many children and grandchildren I have around
me. They were all raised safely because we took
good care of our holy things. We raised our kids
by them."

All winter long he looks forward to the re- 796
turn of Thunder. "I really enjoy Medicine Pipe 778
ceremonies. I wait with happiness for Thunder to
come so that I can get ready for the Pipe dances
again. I really feel good going to them." He
owned one Medicine Pipe Bundle for "many
years." He said it was "the one that crazy Black [439]
Plume kid sold to that white man that's trying to
get all our holy things away from us."

NinnaOnesta and his wife would like to see 829
the Old Ways kept up properly by the young. "These young people that are trying to follow the Indian Way. It is very good. There is nothing at all wrong with it. It is very good for them." Asked if he had any advice to offer to young people, he replied; "If one of them will come to me for advice, I will tell them how to live. But no one has come to me, so far."

BOB BLACK PLUME

Apikayi, or "Skunk," is a short, little man in his 793
mid-seventies who has a smile and handshake for
anyone who passes him. Some of our People refer
to him as "the preacher," because he is involved
in all sorts of religious affairs, from Horns Society
to Full Gospel and the Catholic Church. Perhaps [291]
to suit that title, he is usually well dressed in a

lot of young people are thinking about trying to 000
join in."

Mark was greatly disappointed when the 778
Long-Time Pipe was sold to the Provincial Museum. 432
His brother-in-law, George Long-Time
Squirrel, wished to become Keeper of the ancient 829
Pipe, so he sent Mark to see John Red Crane,
because the two were related. Mark said, "It sure [439]

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Mark Old Shoes, in the center, as the head Weather Dancer during the Medicine Lodge ceremonies. In the [869]
foreground is the Old Man, who was then his Teacher for the sacred duty. On the other side of him is old Heavy Head, dressed and painted just as he was some sixty years earlier when he underwent the self-torture. Each Medicine Lodge dancer must dress the same way as first instructed by his Teacher. Thus, the Old Man and Mark are both wearing shirts, with blankets wrapped around their waists. (Mark Old Shoes Collection)

was hard for me to go back to my brother-in-law 778
and tell him that he couldn't take the ancient 432
Pipe because that white man was going to take it 829
to Edmonton." He added, "It was just as hard for
me when John Red Crane asked me to drum for [439]
him at the transfer. I didn't believe in it at all, [796]
but by the rules of our Old Ways, I couldn't
refuse. He was my relative and I knew the songs. [533]
I lost my son not long after that. Just about [784]
everyone who was at that transfer suffered some
misfortune soon afterwards, especially John."

Mark's father-in-law was old Long-Time 778
Squirrel. He died while he was still Owner of the 425
Different-People Pipe. At that time his son was
not prepared to take the Pipe, so Mark's mother- [768]
in-law asked him if he would take it, since it could
not stay in the home where a member of the
family had died. So Mark and his wife took it to
their home, and had it transferred to them during
the following Sun Dance.

Mark is the Weather Dancer as the result of 535
a relative's dream. A woman named Prairie 793
Chicken Calling was visited by a holy man while 787
she was sleeping. The holy man pointed into the
distance and asked, "Do you recognize that man
over there?" The man was Mark, dressed as a
Weather Dancer. The holy man said, "I am telling you that if that man becomes the Weather
Dancer and devotes himself to his duties, he will
have a long life."

The woman told Mark about her dream. She
said, "Please pity me, relative, and do as my
dream instructed." Mark spoke to the Old Man, [425]
who was then the Weather Dancer. The Old
Man agreed to transfer his rights during the next [424]
Sun Dance. Mark has been Weather Dancer at
three Sun Dance ceremonies so far. He said,
"That's the most Powerful thing that I have, [886]
now. It's my life, and I will live by it so that I can
reach old age."

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GUY WOLF CHILD

Guy Wolf Child, at ninety-two years, is usually 535
the oldest dancer at our ceremonies. Until a 796 ●
couple of years ago, he came to the dance circle [292]
dressed in only a breechcloth and moccasins, his
face and body painted, and carrying two or three
large willow hoops so that he could do one more
encore of the old hoop dance. He used to keep up
to six hoops moving on each of his arms and legs,
as well as one on his head, each hand, and waist.

Today, Guy Wolf Child is white-haired and 156
blind. He usually sits quietly in the corner of a 887
room and tries not to trouble anyone. If there is 888
any sign of drunkenness, he asks to be escorted
outside and away from the house. When we came
to see him, he was thrilled to have company. He
made sure he knew who everyone was, and said,
"When we meet we shake hands. That is the way
we have relatives. That is the only way that I will
know them now." We told him about the nice
photo of his father, old Wolf Child, and he asked
if we had it with us. He told us, "Lay it in my lap
so that I can at least touch the picture of my
father, since I can no longer see it."

We asked him what thoughts about the past
made him happy, and he replied as follows:

I always enjoy thinking about the past, back 829
when I was young and could dance good. I don't 178
remember the times before I went to school too
well. I don't know how long I was in school, but
I remember that when I came out, the modern
life had started. Things already seemed very
modern to me. I used to do all kinds of work for
different white men, they used to treat us pretty
good back then.

All things are different today. In the Old [291]
Days we all wore leggings, only lately they started
to wear pants. Even the Sun Dances are different [796]
today. Everyone used to get together for them
when I was younger. We used to play a game with 000

[p. 337-A]

Pipe transfer. He sang the songs for them to wake 000
up by.

MRS. FRANK RED CROW

Mrs. Red Crow, who is known as Singing-in-the- 115
Water, is the sister of Ponah and the widow of
Frank Red Crow; her father was old Iron. She
was born in 1902 and spent much of her life mar-
ried to Frank's uncle, Francis Red Crow. She be- [587]
came a widow, then married Frank some time
after his wife died.

Mrs. Red Crow says she always had respect for the Old Ways, but she never cared to have sacred things transferred to her. One time, when she and Ponah were still quite young, their grandmother put up a Medicine Lodge:

*Nobody made a vow to cut up the hide, so
our dad, Iron, told everybody, "My daughters, 796 ●
they can do it." He came and he told us to come
up to the front with him. I didn't want to but
he made me. While they were getting the things
ready I saw that no one was watching and I just
ran away as fast as I could and found a place to
hide until they were finished.*

Before she married Frank Red Crow she had 593
lived a fairly modern life, without following most
of the Old Ways. She didn't know Frank very
well but thought that he was very faithful to the
Old Ways. She didn't know anything about him [439]
selling sacred Bundles to Mrs. Walters during the
1930s.

She learned about his selling holy things 593
quite by accident—literally. Not long after their 439
marriage they loaded their truck with camping
gear and headed for Great Falls, Montana. Frank 178
brought along an ancient-looking rawhide container, which he wrapped in cloth and laid on the front seat beside him. She did not ask what was inside. Not long before Great Falls, while driving in the dark, they ran into some livestock on the

Back to Wintertime

OUR NIGHTTIME CEREMONIES

It is late winter now, not long before Thunder 796
returns and the season of outdoor life and holy
ceremonies begins again. But even during winter
we have come together to pray and sing our holy
songs in Nighttime ceremonies two or three times
each month.

Ach-kanotsisi—"All-Smoking-Together"—is 796
how our People announce a Nighttime ceremony.
People devoted to our Old Ways are invited to [533]
someone's house to sing the songs of the sacred [778]
articles transferred to them during their lifetime.
The sponsor of the ceremony provides a leader, as [425]
well as plenty of tobacco and food. In exchange, [782]
he and his family will receive strength by hearing
each participant sing sacred songs and say prayers [574]
for their benefit.

The Nighttime ceremony is commonly 796
referred to as a Big Smoke, or Sacred Smoke. During 533
the night-long ceremony, each participant
counts coups—he calls out the Medicines he has [778]
owned and sings the Medicines' songs. Usually
each person sings sixteen songs recalling experiences
with Medicine Pipe Bundles, Beaver Bundles,
Horns Society, Medicine Lodges, sacred
tipis, sacred necklaces and headdresses, and other
society memberships and Bundle transferrals. The
singing of all these songs is a summary of the holy
life of our Old Ways.

According to the Old Man, who was a leader 796
773

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of these ceremonies, the All-Smoking-Together 796
began very long ago. His Teachers, men like 793
Natosina and Big Wolf, told him that the first participants in these ceremonies were holy leaders of the formal summer ceremonies. They used to gather regularly during the wintertime to rehearse all the songs of their Bundles and to discuss the plans for the next Medicine Lodge ceremony. The Nighttime ceremonies developed from these gatherings and from dreams of some of those participants.

Joe Gambler told a story about a Nighttime 796
ceremony to the Provincial Museum:

> *Big Smoke: People will make a vow to it.* [782]
> *They think it is holy. A person that is going to die will say, "I will put up a Big Smoke so that I may survive," and he will not be sick very long and he will get better.*
>
> *A person who had many Sacred Bundles will* [778]
> *participate. A person who never had many Bundles will not participate, except the two orderlies, who give out the pipes for smoking, burn the incense, make the fire and serve the food, and the orderly who cuts the tobacco and gives out the smokes. These three don't sing, the rest will all* [533]
> *sing.*
>
> *There are lots of People who will officiate,* [793]
> *such as Wrapped Up* [Albert Chief Calf], *Brown* [Brown Chief Calf], *Wolf Old Man* [our Old

Man], and Skunk [Bob Black Plume]. Those four 796
people are the shamans of the Big Smoke. When [793]
people make vows they will say to the one who
will officiate, "Pray for my child so that he or she [782]
may get better. I will treat you very good."

To make the incense altar, a part of the [778]
ground will be scraped clean and Earth will be
added on top, and at one end a pillow-shaped [237]
thing will be placed and a piece of manure will
be laid on it. The little pipe is laid on this piece [276]
of manure, and there is another large piece of
manure on which some pipes are laid. The pipes
are given to the singers who will pray with them
and then they will sing.

The ceremonialist [leader] will select who
will sing and how many songs they will sing.

Big Smokes are held at my house. Big Smokes
can be held in any place where people can sit
conveniently, as long as there is a stove in the
house, as we use the hot charcoals for burning
the incense.

The one that made the vow and prepared the [782]
Berry Soup will sit with the ceremonialist. The
one that made the vow will take his shirt off and [302]
he will be painted on the face and body with the
paint. He will take the pipe that is to be handed
out first and he will offer it to the ceremonialist.
The one that made the vow will give a smoke to
the ceremonialist and the ceremonialist will pray
for him in return for the pipe.

The one that prepared the Berry Soup will
not sing. He will just sit at the back. He will be
called the Holy Sitter.

After the ceremonialist finishes his facial 796
paintings he will take the rattles and rattle them 533
four times and then give one to each of the four
singers. The first man will then start. He will [782]
pray, he will not sing. When he gets through [534]
praying, he will sing. He will say, "I made an
offering at such a place," and he will give four
accounts.

The four men will sing about their most
important sacred Bundle. They will sing of a

sacred Bundle that they depend on [for spiritual 796 ●
strength]. That is how the participants will com- 533
plete their singing in the first round.

After this they will sing a second round—that will make eight songs. They will sing of the miscellaneous Bundles, like tipis, that were transferred to them. First they sing of the Medicine Pipes, the Horns Society, and if a person owned a Beaver Bundle, he will sing of his Water Pipe Bundle [another name for a Beaver Bundle]. They also sing of their tipi designs, and Sun Dance necklaces, and Medicine Pipe necklaces, Weasel Tail suits, Medicine headdresses, All Brave Dog Society. They'll sing of all their miscellaneous Bundles that were transferred to them. That is why the singing takes so long.

Robert Wilson attended several Nighttime 796
ceremonies during the 1890s. Those differed in 114
some details from the similar ceremonies of today,
as well as others of the same period. Most of our [778]
Medicines were then still with us and numerous [425]
people had owned enough Medicines to sing at
least sixteen songs. Today, only a few have owned [177]
enough Medicines to sing four rounds of songs, and most of these have never learned to sing all of their own songs, so they ask the leader of the ceremony for help.

Here are Wilson's observations.

NOTES ON SACRIFICIAL CEREMONY

Feb. 26

One Spots Lodge, 15 people in the lodge, 796
nearly all men. At the usual spot in the lodge was [778]
the altar, made in shape of a mound of clay about 4 inches high, an elongated cone. Opposite the door and in front of the altar was a space afterwards occupied by Old Moon [Ki-soum, or Sun,
who was the leader of this ceremony]. Between [237]
his seat and the altar was a pile of cow chips and
spread on top of them was a lot of wild sage, two [824]
eagle feathers, and some little paint bags. Incense

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[Nighttime Ceremony, 1890's]

was made on a large coal of fire, not on the altar 796 ●
but between it and the fire. A feast of tongue [262]
soup was handed around and Moon prayed alone.
He was followed by all the others, except some [782]
late comers who were handed their food and then
prayed, as usual holding up a little piece [of
tongue] and at the end of the prayer shoving it
into the ground [as an offering]. Old Moon began 796
the songs at 2:15, all the men and women 533
joining in the gestures, comprising holding all the [788]
fingers up, tips touching, and the sign to take
something and put it on the breast. While singing [276]
was in progress, a filled pipe was handed to the
oldest man, who, holding stem to the sun, prayed [782]
in a loud voice, the others singing throughout.
Squaws were in the meantime putting red paint [802]
on faces of children who were to be painted after- [852]
wards by Moon. Singing ceased and another pipe
was handed to Moon, who turned the stem quite
around. Then, pointing the stem up over the fire,
he prayed and afterwards pointed it to the earth.
. . . One Spot sat at right of Moon and Three 796
Bulls at the left. One Spot now took off his shirt, 302
moccasins, leggings, and presented them all to 788
Moon, also a piece of tobacco. He retained only
his blanket, which he now wrapped around himself.
Moon renewed the songs, One Spot let the
blanket fall and sat upon it naked [with his
breechcloth on, I'm sure]. Moon took a piece of
fat meat and with many waves and signs from
altar to One Spot and all over the latter's body, he
handed to him, who rubbed it all over the head,
arms and legs and body then handed it to Moon,
who, after passing it all over his own body, passed
it to the left and it went around. Moon now took [522]
red paint and, with some signs, rubbed it on his
body, arms, legs and all, the others remarking with
laughter how fat he was. One Spot turned his back
and Moon rubbed paint all over it. One Spot's hair
was tied up over his head and Moon painted his
face all red. One Spot's son, a child of six or seven [852]
years, was brought forward and stripped to the
waist . . . painted by Moon. . . .

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[Nighttime Ceremony, 1890's]

Another child was painted, then One Spot's 796 ●
grandson, Jerry Pott's child was brought in, his 788
face already painted red. The Mother's face and [302]
arms were painted red, then the child's face; in
the child's hand was a quarter which was given to [852]
Moon, who again renewed the singing at 2:55 with gestures. One Spot, Moon and Three Bulls did the gestures. Moon took One Spot's right hand in his, straightened out the forefinger and made it point to the ground, and then up to the sky. Then, still holding the hand, it took up one of the feathers from off the sage bunch and, One Spot holding it, crossed his arms on his breast, the feather against his shoulder. Moon took the feather from the other and passed it, quill end down, once around One Spot's head, then gave it to him again. Again he took the hand and made the feather sweep around the little mound of clay back to his shoulder as before, then took the left hand and did the same, sweeping the little mound half done. [The feather represented the Power of the wind as it was scattering the mound, which represented a cloud. None of these symbols are placed on our altars of today.] Then he took one of the moccasins, turned the heel inside out, levelled the mound of sand and handed the moccasin to another man to finish the job. Singing, Moon took hand of One Spot and with feather marked out a pattern on the sand. [The pattern had a round circle in the center, to represent Sun. A circle on each side was for the Sun Dogs, while one above was for Morning Star. A crescent at the bottom stood for Night Light, or Moon.]

Moon took One Spot's hand and made it take some black paint from the sack and sprinkle a little in all of the marks on the sand, still singing. The man who had helped before now took bag and put more black in the marks. While he was doing this, Moon was busy picking off pieces from a root, which, when he had enough, he mixed with grease. Singing, he guided One Spot's hand to and took from bag yellow paint and scattered a little outside of the marks in the sand.

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. . . No yellow was put around the top spot. 796
[The yellow represented daylight; Morning Star 788
was left black because he is not visible in the daytime.]

Moon put an eagle feather in his own head 796
at back and gave directions to the assistant who 788
went out and, going around to back of lodge by 782
east, took down the pole bearing the offering. While he was out, Moon put a coal of fire in the top spot and guided One Spot's hand to put the stuff he had been mixing, and which he gave him, upon the coal of fire [as incense], singing and waving the hands to the coal fire [to take the incense smoke]. They sang to the man outside to come in, and brought in the offering and gave it to Moon, who took it, praying, and laid it on the
sage brush. Moon now, with black paint mixed [302]
with grease in the palm of his hands, put a black spot on the bridge of One Spot's nose, on each cheek and on his chin and then made a broad
streak, or ring, around each wrist and ankle. Then [852]
the offering was waved by Moon on each side of One Spot's head, back, and body; and a child was brought up, face painted same way and wrists and ankles, offering waved . . . also Potts' wife and child, and Calf Robe. . . . Moon now guided One Spot's hand with black paint to mark little short stripes at the top and bottom of the blanket of the offering. Moon always touched the bowl of the pipe to ground before smoking it. Moon and One Spot held up the offering there and singing, an old man called off two coups and then another old man called two. Towards the middle of the songs they lowered top of offering to the altar waving the points of feathers to the figures in sand, and, at intervals, the squaws would let up a yell. Finally, they with the feathers at top of offering, sweep out the figures entirely, and Moon then placed the sage in little bunches leading to the door . . . assistant stood up and, carrying the offering, Moon guiding his first step, walked out, stepping upon the bunches of sage, of which there were four. [The offering symbolically con-

[p.348-A]

tained all the prayers, at this time, and was taken 796
out and tied to a tree or left amid rocks. The 789
bunches of sage were used to keep the bad Spirits, 782
which was the purpose of this ceremony, from
remaining behind to trouble the occupants of the
lodge any further.] Tea and berries were now [272]
handed around. Ended at 5 p.m. [262]

That ceremony was similar to our Nighttime 796
ceremonies of today, except that it ended after
the details of the introduction were completed;
there was no singing of transferred songs.

Here is an interesting excerpt from Wilson's [127]
notes on a ceremony that took place on July 28,
1891. It illustrates the earnestness and the faith of
the participants.

> *A woman . . . entered the lodge . . . stat-* 796
> *ing that a relative of the devotee's, a brother who* 302
> *was ill in an adjoining lodge, wished to partake of the sacred facial decoration. As the man was in an advanced stage of consumption the priest made no answer at first but grumbled in an undertone to the effect that people must think him possessed of superhuman power. After a moment's thought, he gave a reluctant consent and the sick man entered and was painted as the rest. . . .*
> *The priest afterwards explained to me that that* [751]
> *sick a man should not have requested the paint-*
> *ing of himself, because the immediate object of* [784]
> *the sacred face-painting was to ensure good health* [771]
> *and long life to the participant; and that the painting of the face of a person who was visibly dying was in his eyes almost an act of sacrilege, hence his reluctance to make a mockery of a ceremony the efficacy of which he, the priest, firmly believed in.*

Wilson himself once used offerings in our 789
Old Way to overcome a problem. This story
comes from Atsitsina.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 349-B]

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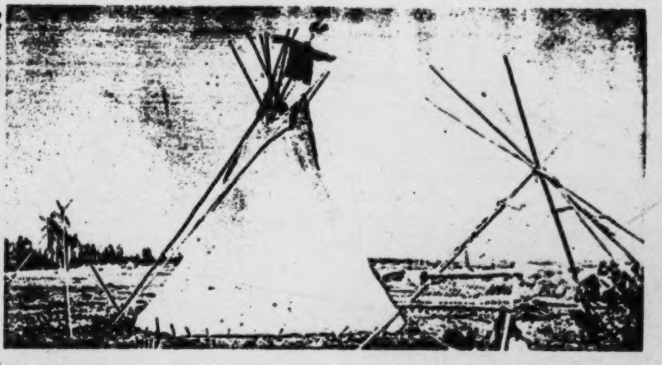
417



[575] The offering in place over the tipi while the ceremony is held inside. A Horns Society Bundle hangs from the tripod at the rear. (R.N. Wilson)

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son took it—he never got off his horse—and he 789
faced toward Sun and he started to pray. He prayed just like an old holy man: "HiYo Sun—HiYo Moon! Help me, save my pigs. The one that is killing them has no pity, so I give you this offering. Please make them stop killing my pigs. . . ." My brother said he prayed really hard, and for a long time. When he finished he told my brother, "I give this to the Sun. Climb that tree and put it up there. They're not going to kill my pigs anymore!" When my brother finished he went home and told his wife and they were both really amazed at how Long-Faced Crow believed in the Indian Way.

The next day Wilson went out and counted his pigs; then he went over to my brother and he said, "The Sun heard me. I gave him something good and he helped me." After that, my brother said that nothing killed his pigs anymore.

NIGHTTIME CEREMONY ON THE PRAIRIE

"Oki, Napi, we will make a holy soup for you. 755
We have come to ask that you pray for our grand- 782
mother, AnadaAki, while she is ill."

"Ah," answered the Old Man. "Yes, I will pray for her, and when she gets well, you will make the soup for me."

Thus we announced our vow to the Old [164]
Man, early one winter, after Grandma AnadaAki had suffered a heart attack. We asked him to use his influence with the spiritual powers by praying and by agreeing to lead a Nighttime ceremony, to give strength to Grandma in her effort to recover.

Some time passed after we made the vow. It 796 ●
was late in the winter season. Grandma had been well for some time, but we waited for favorable
conditions before holding the ceremony. By then, [793]
because of his old age, the Old Man attended few of the Nighttime ceremonies and he hardly ever led them. Although he assured us that he was able and willing to lead this ceremony for us, we

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

prayed that the weather would be mild, which it 796 was, on the day of the ceremony. There was snow on the ground from a few days before, but the air was barely cool enough for freezing.

The ceremony was to have been held seven [765] nights before, but a sudden death among the Old Man's relatives meant that he could not attend any public gathering for four days. He told us that everyone's good Spirits would be back if we set the ceremony for seven days later, which we did.

I wore my blanket coat for the ride over to our relative's house, where the ceremony was held. We had driven over there earlier that morning to drop off mattresses for seating, dishes for cooking, the foodstuffs, and our blankets and other things needed for the ceremony. We fastened the offering to the house wall outside the place where the Old Man was to sit and pray later that night.

It was still daylight when we arrived at the house where people were going to gather. No one had arrived yet. The offering swayed in the breeze that often blows from the mountains. The prairie between the house and the mountains, perhaps half a day's ride away, was a patch-work of farms and ranches. The light covering of snow reflected differently, depending on whether the fenced sections of land were for pasture or crops, and whether they were plowed at the end of the last summer or left with their stubble standing.

The house was an older one, made of milled [342] lumber. A few relatives were inside, to do the cooking and to lend their help, should it be needed. The room was crowded with many bags [353] and boxes of food. Another room was crammed with furniture, leaving the room where the ceremony was to be held cleared of all furniture—only mattresses covering the floor along the walls. Two of the canvas linings from our tipi hung on the wall to lend the room some atmosphere. None of the relatives took a direct part in the [778] ceremony, so none had gone inside this room for [784] fear of disturbing its sanctity.

[p. 350-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

I began my preparations by pouring some 796
fine earth from a paper bag onto a small board. [778]
This was to be the incense altar. The layer of dirt was the thickness of two hands and "mirror-shaped," as the Old People call a rectangle. At the end closest to the Old Man was a higher ridge of earth, which caused the complete altar to look like a made-up bed with pillows.

The Old Man arrived with his brother, Mike [276]
Yellow Bull, who cut the tobacco and filled the pipes. After a brief glance in the ceremonial room, he asked, "Everything is not yet ready?" I answered, "Almost." He asked me to get him a chair so he could sit and have a smoke while I finished the preparations.

I leaned some bunches of man-sage against [237]
the head of the altar and placed two pieces of
dung next to them. On the brass-studded tobacco [824]
cutting board, I placed some prepared bearberry [276]
leaves and commercial tobacco. Then I brought in the Old Man's bag of ceremonial articles and arranged them in place. I laid the wooden incense tongs to the right of the altar and some braids of sweetgrass to the left. I also put down two sharpened willow sticks for lighting the pipes, and a long piece of wire for cleaning the stems.

I guided the Old Man to his seat in the ceremonial room. It is not proper for anyone to sit [576]
until the leader has assigned each person a place. The place to the right of the leader is for the

[p. 351-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

142
291
302
114

Our Old Man and me.

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sponsor of the ceremony, who sits very quietly and humbly listens to everyone's prayers which are for the benefit of himself, his family, and the one for whom he vowed the ceremony. We call this "sitting holy." If the sponsor of the ceremony is a participant who sings his songs, then he asks some relative to take his place next to the leader, for it is not proper to sing while sitting holy. 796 [576]

Atsitsina arrived and the Old Man directed him to a place on his right. Atsitsina helped start the second part of the ceremony by reciting four spiritual offerings made in the past. The participant with the bravest war coup would sit at the far left and recount four brave deeds, when that part of the ceremony was reached. My seat was next to the Old Man on his left. As a Medicine Pipe Owner, this was my seat of honor. [555] [554] [576]

The Old Man inspected the altar and approved it. He arranged before him the sacred bags from his paint outfit: one contained the black paint, another contained the sacred red earth, and a third contained pieces of kidney fat. [778] [237]

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

saw in my dream. Here is a part of him to prove 791
that we are sincere and that he will always re- 852
member you." That old woman took out her 304
knife and cut off the end of my little finger from 782
my left hand, you can see where it is missing, and 787
she left the end of my finger out there on the prairie as an offering. That is when I was first told that I would have old age.

After the Old Man's story, we sat quietly for 765
a while. Then Atsitsina remarked that he had not 783
yet been purified for the recent death in his family. He could not attend a holy ceremony until he symbolically cast the Spirit of death away from
himself. He asked me to step outside with him [824]
and to bring along a few leaves of sage from the bunches by the altar. He had already taught me
what to do to purify someone in our Old Way. I [782]
rolled the sage leaves into a small ball between my palms and prayed, asking for help that Atsitsina may forget what has happened and go on with the Good Spirits again. Four times I prayed and asked the various Powers to give him strength and encouragement, and then I handed him the ball of sage. He prayed and brushed his body four times with it, then told the sage to take the evil from his body as he cast it away toward the east, the direction of the new day.

A truck arrived bringing SikskiAki's parents 796
and our two boys. Wolf Child quietly walked into [493]
the room and sat by me. The Old Man squinted
to see who it was, then greeted Wolf Child: [576]
"Ahhh, Makwi Poka, shake hands!" The Old Man was very fond of Wolf Child. The boy prayed enthusiastically and made hand signs while trying to sing along with our holy songs.

NinnaOnesta and his wife arrived with a box full of bowls, utensils, pipe and blankets, and two cushions—in case our seating proved uncomfortable. The Old Man gave NinnaOnesta a seat on the far left, where he usually sits to call out his raiding exploits.

[p.353-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

By the time it was dark, all had arrived for 796 ●
the ceremony, having been dropped off by young
relatives. In the Old Days, ten to twenty partici- [177]
pants could be expected for a Nighttime cere-
mony, but today only half as many showed up.

When all were seated, the relatives in the 796
kitchen started passing out the food. Each bowl 431
was filled with chunks of boiled meat, eggs, [262]
oranges, apples, rolls, and fresh-baked cookies.
Most of the food was to be taken home in paper [415]
bags for the Old People's grandchildren.

Each of us took a small piece of meat be- 796
tween our first two fingers. The Old Man handed 782
the incense tongs to the orderly, SikskiAki's young
nephew, who took a coal from the wood stove
and deposited it in the middle of the earth altar.
The Old Man sprinkled sweetgrass on the coal,
guided by my hand. As the sweet-smelling smoke
rose he held his piece of meat into the air and
began a prayer:

> *HiYo holy Spirits, help us as we are gathered with you again. Hear our prayers tonight. Hear the songs that we will sing for you. Give us your Power and help our children and our grandchildren. . . .*

To conclude his prayer he placed the meat as an offering at the edge of the altar and said, "Oki, Earth Spirits, take this food and bless my life so that I will always have enough to eat." All of us joined him in praying out loud and we passed him our pieces of meat which he deposited as offerings to our Earth Mother.

Then we ate a little of the food before we took a break and went outside.

After we returned, we got settled to begin 796
the first part of the ceremony. Incense was made 788
first. Then the Old Man took some of the sage [824]
from in front of the altar and peeled the leaves
from the stems. He coated his hands with kidney [237]
fat and mixed it with sacred red earth. Then he [782]
rolled the leaves into a ball, all the while praying

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

to remind us of the Powers of Earth and all that 796
grows upon it. When the ball was ready, he 788
turned toward me and dropped it into my cupped [782]
hands. I rolled the ball between my palms and
then brushed it, slowly, twice down each side of [783]
my body, while praying to ask that the cleansing
Spirits of the sage purify my body and replace any
evil in it with the natural goodness of the Earth.
When I finished, I passed the sage sacrament to
the person at my left, and so it went around the
room. More incense was made, and then the [782]
young helper was instructed to go out and bring
in the offering. He covered himself with his blanket [292]
for this sacred duty, and went out to bring in
the holy object from its quiet, sacred resting
place.

The object represents the Spirits who are 796
with us, in our life here on Earth. Fastened to it 782
are symbols that recall to everyone the Powers of
the Universe. For instance, the frame of the offering 778
is made of two willow sticks tied together in [924]
the shape of a cross; the willows represent trees [823]
and bushes, as well as the material from which we
build our sweat lodges; and the cross the sticks are
tied in stands for the junction of the four sacred
directions, which is the place where we stand,
each of us, no matter where on this Earth we are.
Fastened on top of the cross, the willow stick tied [772]
to form a circle speaks for the roundness of our
Sun, our Moon, and our Universe, the sacred
circle in whose honor we arrange our lodges and
our camps. Fastened to the circle are seven black- [237]
and-white eagle feathers. Seven is our sacred [801]
number, as there are seven moons in each season,
and seven stars help us tell time at night and
remind us of all the other stars in the nighttime
sky; the feathers are black-and-white to remind us
of day and night, good and bad, life and death.
Bunches of sage are tied to the ends of the arms [824]
on the cross because sage is pure and holy in the
prairie-life of our Old Ways, and represents the
sacredness of all the plants on Earth. Black and
red pieces of cloth are tied to the arms of the
offering with buckskin thongs; the thongs remind

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

us of the animals that supply us with meat and 796
hides, just as the feathers remind us of the birds 782
that fly, and the cloth represents the life of the 778
People on Earth, red being for holiness and black for victory. It is the People's gift to the Spirits of nature.

Outside, the helper said, "Hoi"; he took 796
down the offering and stood toward the east, 782
holding it in his hand. The Old Man began a 533
song whose words tell that the sacred offering will be brought in, in a holy way. After the song, everyone was quiet. Then we heard the signal from outside again. The Old Man began the same song again, everyone joining in this time. Four times we sang, each time the helper standing at one of the four directions to let all the Universal Powers have a symbolic look at the offering before it was brought inside. In Sun-wise direction he went around the house, and before the fourth song ended came inside and handed the offering to the Old Man.

The Old Man prayed with it, giving it a 796
spiritual welcome into the midst of our gathering, 302
then put it down. He rubbed kidney fat between 788
the palms of his hands, and took some sacred red
earth. The young man sitting holy took off his [778]
shirt and kneeled before the Old Man. The Old
Man sang the song for the red paint, while cover- [533]
ing the boy's face, shoulders, chest, arms, and wrists with it, smearing the last over the boy's hair in ceremonial blessing.

He wiped the red paint from his hands and took the black paint pouch and a fresh piece of
kidney fat. Singing the song for the sacred black [533]
paint, he dipped two fingers into the pouch and
mixed the powdered charcoal with the grease in [778]
his palms, as though he were washing his hands with a bar of soap. With his blackened thumb he put a mark on the boy's temples, and his nose, then traced a black circle all the way around the boy's face, over the red paint. He also put black circles around the boy's wrists. The Old Man then told him to turn around in a Sun-wise direction to bless him with the offering, rubbing it

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 355-B]

21: Hungry Wolf   F-4,5   (ca. 1972) 1977   NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Blood

776
782
291
302
192
778

Wilson's photo of his recorded "sacrificial ceremony," taken in the 1890s. The sponsor of the ceremony is holding up the second offering. The leader sits next to him. The altar in the foreground is different from the altars we make for this type of ceremony today. In the center is an earth-painted symbol of Sun, a crescent Moon, Sun Dogs on each side, and Morning Star above Sun. Bunches of sage lie on the ground. The incense tongs and paint bags lie next to the leader.

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21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

twice over each side of the boy's body. The boy 796
then put on his shirt and continued to sit holy. 302

Next, some of us came forward who wished 788
to have the Old Man's blessings by being painted. First went Grandma, the helper, and Mike Yellow Bull. Then Wolf Child and I went around the altar as the last ones to be painted.

After that, Mark Old Shoes told about four 796
sacred offerings he made in the past, as the Old 788
Man sang the fourth song of the ceremony. Dur- 782
ing the song the Old Man held the offering toward the east, calling out for Sun to see it, then tracing Sun's path to the west. He did that four times. Then he handed the offering to the boy next to him, who prayed with it and handed it to the pipe attendant, Mike Yellow Bull. He untied the offering and removed the cross-arm to which the cloth was attached. The cloth was spread out beneath the brass-studded tobacco cutting board. The rest of the offering was tied to the wall, above the Old Man's head.

One of the raw tongues was placed on a cloth in front of the Old Man. He took the right hand of the one sitting holy, dipped one finger into the black paint, and prayed while marking a line down the center of the tongue, doing this four
times. Next, the boy was given a knife and file to [412]
hold, while the Old Man guided him to symbolically sharpen one with the other. That constituted the asking and receiving of ceremonial permission for cutting the tongues and tobacco. When this was done, we took another break.

After this second break, we made incense 796
again, then filled the pipes from the large mound 788
of smoking mixture on the cutting board. The
largest pipe was filled first and handed to Atsit- 276
sina, who held it four times toward the incense, twice with the bowl-end and twice with the mouthpiece. One by one, the incensed pipes were then leaned against the large piece of dung, which had been secured to the right of the altar by three nails driven around it. Everyone was careful not to move the pipes resting this way because they were considered to be sitting holy.

Using the small pipe, the Old Man was the first to smoke. He asked me to take his blanket and cover his body from the top of his head down. The tobacco was lit with the glowing end

[P.355-8]

of a willow stick. He then blew offerings of smoke 796
to the Spirits who dwell in the Above, in the 788
Below, and on Earth. Everyone was very quiet, 276
for the Old Man was symbolically smoking with
the Powers of the Universe. He blew smoke in
various directions until all the tobacco in the bowl
had been smoked.

The main part of the ceremony was now 796
ready to be started. Incense was made, and the 788
Old Man held four rattles over the sweet smoke.
He shook the rattles, to prepare the Spirits for 533
singing, then passed them to the man who was [534]
farthest to the right. The others sang a song while
he prayed and told about one offering. In the
same way, each of the four men sang four rounds
of the song and called out four offerings.

The four men prayed for the other partici- [782]
pants, calling each one by name, and their fam-
ilies. As each one heard his name, he placed his [201]
hands on his chest, signifying that he was taking
the prayers to his heart.

When each man finished praying, he sang his 796
first four songs, representing the most Powerful 793
Medicines transferred to him during his lifetime. 778
Atsitsina and I were the only participants who 533
had not belonged to the Horns; our first songs
were for our Medicine Pipe Bundles. Medicine
Pipe Owners were allowed to sing four songs for
the Bundle they were keeping. Beaver Bundle
Owners could sing as many songs as they wished
for their Bundle. All others were allowed to sing
only one song for each sacred thing that had been
transferred to them, even if that object had a
great many songs.

As a current Medicine Pipe Owner, a special 796
ceremony was held at my turn to sing for the first 793
round. A blanket was spread to the left of the 783
altar. The Old Man sat to my left on the blanket. 533
A coal was deposited at the rear of the altar and I
held a pinch of sweet pine needles over the hot
coal, the Old Man's hand on top of mine. He
began with a prayer, then sang four Medicine
Pipe songs, slowly lowering my hand with the in-

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

142
291
796
533
114

Singing the Medicine Pipe Songs: Makwi Api and me.

cense during the beginning of the first one. We 796
took the sacred smoke and symbolically purified 793
ourselves with it, while we sang of the holy 783
Bundle that had given its Spirit to both of our 533
lives.

After everyone had sung his first four songs, we took another break. The first of four rounds was over.

The second round of songs began with the 796
rattles over the incense like the first round. Most 793
sang songs during this round for Medicine Pipe 793
Bundles. One song was sung for the Bundle itself, 778
another for the necklace or some such sacred arti- 533
cle. After each man had sung his four songs, he told which sacred article they were for, who gave him that article, and whom it was finally given to. Some singers ended their round by saying that their holy object had been given to the white man by so-and-so, and it was now on display at such-and-such a place.

Those who have sold our major Bundles, and 000

[p. 356-B]

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

142
114
796
276

Having a smoke after singing Medicine Pipe Songs: Atsitsina and me.

Those who have sold our major Bundles, and 425
are still alive to tell about it, seldom come to our 439
Nighttime ceremonies. When they do, they usu- 778
ally sing the songs for what they sold, though 796
others feel that this is sacrilegeous, that no one
can benefit from the Spirit of a holy thing that
was given away for money.

The pipes were smoked continuously during 796
the rounds of singing. At the start of each round, 276
the first pipe was handed to the one sitting holy,
who presented it to the Old Man. The Old Man [782]
held the mouthpiece to the Above and prayed for
the boy and for those for whom the ceremony was
held.

During the next break we ate some raw kid- 796
ney and a bit of kidney fat, a delicacy among our 262
Old People. There was talking and joking while 264
we ate.

The next two rounds of singing were just like 796
the first two, but the songs representing sacred 533
articles not so Powerful as those sung about at 778

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

[Nighttime Ceremony, Ca. 1972]

first. The songs were for Iniskims and Iniskim 796
necklaces, painted tipis, Sun Dance necklaces, for 533
the duties of Weather Dancers, for parts of
Beaver Bundles, and for lesser societies such as 778
the Crazy Dogs and Pigeons.

The Old Man started the third round with a 796
song about the Power of birds. During the song, 533
he waved his right hand in the air to resemble the
sailing of a bird. Most of our songs used to have 201
symbolic hand and body motions to accompany
them, but few of our People still know these or
bother to use them when they are singing. But
the ceremony was not yet over.

After the last song of the fourth round, 796
someone brought in a bowl with tongue taken 788
from the sacred blood soup. The eight pieces were 782
used to ask for blessings. The one who was sitting
holy took one piece from the bowl; taking and [262]
holding up that hand, the Old Man called out, "Oki, Natosi, Sun, this is for you. SikskiAki and Natosina promised to feed you this when they asked you to help AnadaAki, and now they are fulfilling their promise."

He lowered the boy's hand and let the piece drop at the edge of the altar. They took up another piece, which was offered to Moon in the same way. They did the same with a piece offered to Morning Star and a piece offered to Earth Spirits.

The remaining four pieces were held up, one at a time, in the same way, as the Old Man called out, "Oki, Sun, this young man is going to eat with you so that this meal will be holy. Give him your strength and guidance." He then pushed the piece into the boy's mouth, and it was eaten.

After the Old Man did this with the four 796
pieces of tongue, the boiling kettle filled with the 788
sacred soup was brought into the room. It had
been boiling all night long, from the time the 252
tongues had been cut up. The sacred soup is a [262]
mixture of tongue, serviceberries, and blood. The
pieces of tongue are first boiled in water. Then
the blood is mixed with flour to form a smooth

paste, which is stirred into the boiling water along 796
with the berries. A dark, creamy soup results. 788
Each person's wooden bowl that night was filled.

Incense was made for the last time, and each [252]
person held up a piece of tongue and prayed for [782]
strength and long life for ourselves and our families. Then we ate.

Three more "soups" were brought out— [262]
stewed apricots, rice and raisins, and stewed tomatoes. Four soups, one for each round of singing.

The Nighttime ceremony was over. Through the window came the first sign of the new day, a thin, light line separating the dark, starlit sky from the horizon. The songs were over, the pipes smoked out, the prayers all spoken; the People left for home, all as One and all happy.

□

On my way home, I paused on top of a hill 123
to watch Sun rise, breathing the universal air that 782
all of us must breathe, that makes us all a part of the Universe. To the never-ending Spirits of this Universe I gave my prayer of Good Thoughts:

Okohe Natuyetuppi! HiYo! HiYo Natosi—HiYo KokomiKisoum—HiYo Ksachkomituppi! Now then, holy people! Hear me! Hear me Sun! Hear me Night Light! Hear me Stars! Hear me Earth Spirits!

HiYo all of you Holy Powers in the Universe. I am thankful to be able to see those holy mountains where I will soon be in body and Spirit. Help me to grow closer to you in this Way that I have been learning to live with all of you Powers who make up this Universe. Let me learn to be humble and to feel small so that I may see the greatness of your Powers, so that I may treat them with respect, and look to them for strength while living on Earth.

HiYo Natosi! Let me continue to see you as you make your daily path across the sky. Continue to let me see your light so that my path

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

773
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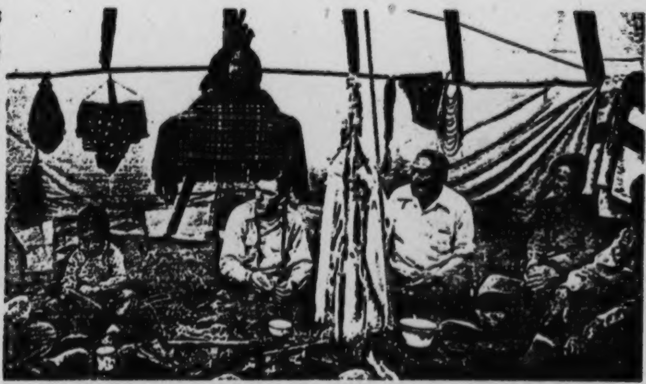
353



A sacred gathering during the 1975 Sun Dance Encampment. At the right sits Laurie Plume, better known as Emonisi, or Otter. As a child he owned a sacred buckskin shirt decorated with weasel tails. Here he transferred the songs and rights accompanying this shirt to young Wolf Child. Next to him sits Many Grey Horses, the Owner of the Long-Time Pipe, and next to me is 85-year-old Tom Morning Owl. His mother was old SikskiAki, so he was Atsitsina's half brother. He also held sacred rights for a weasel shirt, which he transferred to me at this ceremony. The shirt is hanging between us. Atsitsina and Apikayi (Bob Black Plume) were the singers for the occasion. They used two drums from the Long-Time Pipe. With their passing the following winter, Laurie Plume became the last of the Blood elders able to lead the Medicine Pipe ceremonies.

[p.362-A]

secret transaction from the widow of John Red 575
Crane, who had sold our Long-Time Medicine 425
Pipe. The Old Man's grandson, Harry Shade, 778
made a vow to become Keeper of that Horns
Bundle. He and his partner, Jim Red Crow, have
recently decided to follow Mokakin's advice and
will ask older Horns members to remake the
Bundle for them.

A most exciting event occurred last year, in 778
time for the Old Man to help celebrate. Our an- 425
cient Long-Time Medicine Pipe came back to
stay with our People. It happened this way:

Several summers ago the Bundle was brought 796 ●
to the Sun Dance Encampment and ceremonially 778
opened. By tradition, the leader of the ceremony 425
should have been a former Owner, who would
have known the special songs for it. But none are
left among the People. Thus, White Horns led
the ceremony in the best way he could. Many
Grey Horses came and brought his drums, which
had originally belonged to the Bundle. He himself
was one of the drummers for the ceremony. At
the end of it he surprised everyone by announcing
that he was taking the Bundle back to his own
home and that he would shortly have it transferred to himself and his wife. The white man

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

from the museum, who occupied the Owner's 796
place during the ceremony, had already offered to 778
transfer his rights if anyone wanted to take them. 425
He seemed pleased by the announcement of
Many Grey Horses. The transfer ceremony took [432]
place not long after. The payments included several
fine horses and many dry goods. However, the
white man had said nothing about all this to his
former employer—the Provincial Museum. When
they learned of the affair they rushed down to see
Many Grey Horses and used threats of law and
order to frighten him into returning it. They told
him that he would be allowed to have it for the
annual ceremony, provided he sign many complicated
legal papers first.

The following winter I had a vivid dream in 778
which I saw the Long-Time Pipe being brought 425
back home for good. I went to see Many Grey
Horses and his wife, and told them about the [787]
dream. They offered to accept the dream and to
follow its directions. Accordingly, SikskiAki and I
joined the elderly couple for a trip to the Provincial
Museum in Edmonton the following spring.

At the museum we were treated courteously. 778
Permission was granted for Many Grey Horses 796
and his wife to pray with the Bundle and to give 425
thanks for the return of Thunder. First, parts of
the Bundle had to be brought together—some
were on display and some were in storage. Many
Grey Horses then placed the Bundle on his wife's
back, while he carried the bags and other accessories.
Dressed in moccasins and blankets, we
made a colorful procession outdoors, where we

[p. 364-A]

could pray directly to the Spirits of Nature. We 778
went around the museum building, stopping at 796 ●
each of the Four Sacred Directions to pray. Some 425
distance behind us followed two of the museum officials, while plain-clothes guards remained farther away. After the fourth stop Many Grey Horses and his wife took their Bundle directly to our car. We explained our purpose to the amazed museum officials, who made no effort to stop us. Shortly we were headed south, joyfully bringing the ancient Bundle back home.

Four times we stopped on the way home 778
with the Long-Time Pipe to make offerings of 425
sacred berries and tobacco. Many Grey Horses
prayed fervently that the sacred Bundle should [782]
never again leave our People. He asked it to stay and help the People through these trying times, and to remind them of the ancient Powers that gave strength to our ancestors of the long-ago.

There was much joy among the People when the news was heard—everyone was thankful for the Bundle's return. Old Bob Black Plume came out of semi-retirement to lead the ceremony for its opening, as he has done each time since. People from far and wide came to see the sacred Pipe and to receive its blessings. Several hours were required just to paint those who had come
for that reason. Surely here was physical proof of [782]
the spiritual Powers that dwell in the Land of the Bloods—from the days of dogs, through the days of horses, and into the age of modern cars and airplanes, the Medicine Pipe has held the People together.

[[illegible]364-B]

534 up and danced, jumping up and down until the knife on his head struck the heart.[1] Then he cut the heart down. Next he cut through between the ribs of the fish, and let all the people out.

Again Blood-Clot said he must go on his travels. Before starting, the people warned him, saying that after a while he would see a woman who was always challenging people to wrestle with her, but that he must not speak to her. He gave no heed to what they said, and, after he had gone a little way, he saw a woman who called him to come over. "No," said Blood-Clot. "I am in a hurry." However, at the fourth time the woman asked him to come over, he said, "Yes, but you must wait a little while, for I am tired. I wish to rest. When I have rested, I will come over and wrestle with you." Now, while he was resting, he saw many large knives sticking up from the ground almost hidden by straw. Then he knew that the woman killed the people she wrestled with by throwing them down on the knives. When he was rested, he went over. The woman asked him to stand up in the place where he had seen the knives; but he said, "No, I am not quite ready. Let us play a little, before we begin." So he began to play with the woman, but quickly caught hold of her, threw her upon the knives, and cut her in two.

Blood-Clot took up his travels again, and after a while came to a camp where there were some old women. The old women told him that a little farther on he would come to a woman with a swing,[2] but on no account must he ride with her. After a time he came to a place where he saw a swing on the bank of a swift stream. There was a woman swinging on it. He watched her a while, and saw that she killed people by swinging them out and dropping them into the water. When he found this out, he came up to the woman. "You have a swing here; let me see you swing," he said. "No," said the woman, "I want to see you swing." "Well," said Blood-Clot, "but you must swing first." "Well," said the woman, "Now I shall swing. Watch me. Then I shall see you do it." So the woman swung out over the stream. As she did this, he saw how it worked. Then he said to the woman, "You swing again while I am getting ready;" but as the woman swung out this time, he cut the vine and let her drop into the water. This happened on Cut Bank Creek.[3]

"Now," said Blood-Clot, "I have rid the world of all the monsters, I will go back to my old father and mother." So he climbed a high ridge, and returned to the lodge of the old couple. One day he said to them, "I shall

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[1] This is regarded as the origin of a ceremony known as the "dance of the spirits of the dead," or "ghost dance." The knife tied on the head is said to glisten or give off light, like a halo (smoke), hence the name Smoking-Star.

[2] For a different rendering, see Grinnell, op. cit., p. 37. However, the swing is found among the Gros Ventre (Kroeber, op. cit., p. 87) and the Fox (Jones, op. cit., p. 103).

[3] Grinnell's version contains another incident. After this adventure, Blood-Clot is eaten four times by a cannibal. In each case the bones are restored to life by a little girl. After the fourth restoration Blood-Clot kills the cannibal (op. cit., p. 37).

THE SUN DANCE.

121 796 184 In our earlier paper upon the bundles of the Blackfoot, we have concerned ourselves with ceremonial functions in which the ownership and chief responsibility, in theory, rested in a single individual. We come now to an affair initiated, it is true, by the owner of the natoas bundle, but yet a composite of other rituals and functions, each of which has a definite place in a program carried out by the whole tribal organization. The only trace of a similar tribal participation is in the now almost extinct tobacco-planting ceremonies conducted by the beaver owners; but here there was no complex of other unrelated ceremonies and functions. In short, the sun dance was for the Blackfoot a true tribal festival, or demonstration of ceremonial functions, in which practically every important ritual owner and organization had a place. Nevertheless, there were certain rituals peculiar to it which gave it its character.

128 796 Since the plan of this section is to give an ethnological presentation of the Blackfoot sun dance, rather than a logically unfolding description of the ceremony as seen at a specified time, we shall present the general program now and take up later a somewhat analytical detailed discussion of the various phases of the ceremony. By this method, we shall be able to concentrate our attention upon a single ceremonial concept without the distraction arising from contemporaneous and intrusive procedures based upon other concepts, for as we shall see, this sun dance is a true composite. [657] [12i] The following schedule is not given as the one observed by the writer, but as the one regarded as proper and believed to have been followed before the various divisions of the Blackfoot were under the complete domination of the Canadian and United States governments.

PREPARATION PERIOD.

796 After making a vow to purchase a sun dance bundle, the woman and her husband make the necessary arrangements and perform the prescribed rites. [203] This is an indefinite period. At the approach of summer, the invitation tobacco is sent to all the bands and the camp circle is formed.

PROGRAM BY DAYS.

796 *First Day.* The program opens with moving camp to a site previously
[785] selected. On the morning of this day, the medicine woman begins to fast,
which may be taken as the real beginning of the ceremony. If the ceremony
[782] of "cutting the tongues" has not been previously performed or completed,
[533] it is now in order. In any event, the father and any male assistants he may
choose to invite, spend a part of the day in "praying and singing over the
[343] tongues." A society brings in willows and a hundred-willow sweathouse is
built.

Second Day. In the morning, the camp moves again to a site still
[824] nearer that proposed for the sun dance. A few green boughs of cottonwood
[343] are kept around the base of the medicine woman's tipi as a sign of its sanctity.
A sweathouse is made, as on the previous day. "Praying and singing over
[782] the tongues" continues during the day and evening.

[533] *Third Day.* The same as the second day.

Fourth Day. The camp moves again; this time to the site of the sun
[343] dance. In the afternoon, the fourth and last hundred-willow sweathouse
[533] is built and used. The singing continues during the evening in the medicine
woman's tipi.

Fifth Day. This is an active day.[1] The various bands cut and drag in
the poles and green cottonwood boughs to be used in constructing the
dancing lodge. The center, or sun pole, is selected and brought in with the
ceremonies pertaining thereto. During the day, the holes for the posts are
dug and the sides of the dancing lodge put in place and prepared for the
raising at sunset. A wind-break is erected at the west side, facing the forked
[756] end of the sun pole. Later in the day, some medicinemen take up their
[782] stations here to receive offerings to the sun and place them on the pole. In
the forenoon, the ceremony connected with the opening of the natoas
bundle begins in the medicine woman's tipi. This is completed by the middle
of the afternoon when there is a procession from the tipi to the wind-break
[431] facing the sun pole. The thongs for the poles are cut. While these are
[735] taking place, some food is distributed among the poor people. Those
[782] women, who, during the past season, promised "to come forward to the
tongues" now fulfil their vows by public declarations addressed to the
setting sun. The pole raisers then approach from the four quarters, erecting

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[1] As in many other cases, there is a difference of opinion as to what was, or is, the correct schedule. Some maintain that the timber and sun pole are brought in on the fourth day and the fifth day given over to the erection of the dancing lodge only. This is, however, a matter of no great moment.

first the sun pole and then the rafters, with as much speed as possible. The 782
medicine woman then returns to her tipi and the father with his male
companions goes into a sweathouse.

Sixth Day. In the morning, a booth is erected in the dancing lodge for
the medicinemen, or weather dancers. Later in the day, they approach,
with processions made up of their respective bands, and take their places
in the booth. At various times during the day, they dance to the sun.
People also come up to be painted and prayed for. As a rule, the medicine-
pipes are brought out for these men to bless and smoke. During the after- [535]
noon, the "digging dance" occurs, when the fireplace is made and the fire [354]
kindled.

Seventh Day. People still come to be painted or prayed for by the
medicinemen. Later in the day, the dancing of the societies begins. [535]

Eighth Day. The dancing may continue on this day; otherwise, camp [535]
is broken and the bands go their several ways. The dancing may continue
several days, there being no definite time for closing the ceremony. Indeed,
to the Blackfoot mind, the really vital part of the ceremony closes on the
evening of the fifth day. The dancing of the societies is free to take its
course as the various organizations see fit. In former times, however, it
was customary to break camp any time between the seventh and tenth days.

According to our information, the four camps of the medicine woman 796
was the rule in olden times and a hundred-willow sweathouse was made at 178
each camp. In recent times, but two moves seem to have been made; the
first day marking the move from the regular home camp to the temporary
one where the second day is also spent. But one of the hundred-willow
sweathouses is now made — the one on the third day. Also, where formerly [343]
they used the ordinary type of sweathouse, at the close of the fourth day,
the men now return to the hundred-willow sweathouse. The time then was
"when the service berries are ripe", perhaps August, instead of Fourth-of-
July week, as in recent years.[1] Even the fast is much abbreviated, usually [785]
but of two days' duration.

THE VOW.

The most important functionary in the Blackfoot sun dance is a woman, 796
known among the whites as the medicine woman, and upon a clear compre- 793
hension of her functions and antecedents depends our understanding of the
ceremony itself. Accordingly, we shall proceed with as complete an exposi-

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[1] See Grinnell, George Bird, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903), 264, for program. [113]

796 793 tion of her office as the information at hand allows. In the first place, a sun dance cannot occur unless some woman qualifies for the office. On the other hand, it was almost inconceivable that there should be a summer in which such a qualification would not be made. 796 793 626 This attitude of our informants implies that public opinion had sufficient force to call out volunteers against their own wills. There was a feeling that an annual sun dance was, from a religious and ethical point of view, necessary to the general welfare, for which some individual ought to sacrifice personal comfort and property to the extent required by custom. As we shall see later, this was no small price to pay for a doubtful honor. This feeling was sure to express itself in the subtle ways peculiar to Indian society, if need be, to the direct suggestion of a candidate who in turn felt impelled to come forward as if prompted entirely from within.

796 782 793 As a rule, however, the woman qualifies by a vow. Oftimes, when a member of the family is dangerously ill, one of the women goes out of the tipi and raising her eyes to the sun calls upon it that health may be restored to the ailing one. In such an appeal she offers to make gifts to the sun, usually specifying that she will sacrifice a piece of cloth, a dress, a robe, an ax, etc., which are after a time, provided the sick one improves, hung in trees or deposited upon a hill. Such appeals are still made with great frequency. It is believed that unless the woman has been industrious, truthful, and above all, true to her marriage vows, her appeal will not be answered. Sometimes, when the woman addresses the sun she promises to be the medicine woman at the next sun dance. She herself may be ill and promise such a sacrifice in case she receives help. Again, she may, out of gratitude for the satisfactory way in which her prayers have been answered, announce her intention to take this step. In such a case, a formal announcement is made to the sun. In company with a man, usually a [756] medicineman experienced in the ceremonies, she steps out into the camp, where they face the sun whom the man addresses, explaining that as this woman asked for help in time of need and that inasmuch as it was granted, she in turn promises to be the medicine woman at the first opportunity. Some such formal announcement is made in every case where the prayers have been answered. By this formality, the vow receives public registry.

As indicated above, the prayers are not always granted. In such cases, the promises are not only not binding, but to proceed with the sun dance, or to take a secondary part in it, would be to the detriment of all concerned. [784] The fault is said to lie in the woman's life and that only the wrath of the sun would be invoked by her participation in the ceremonies.

It may be asked if a man can make such a vow. He may and does often call upon the sun, promising gifts of property or even scalps and may promise

to furnish the material support for a wife, mother, sister, or in fact any woman 796
who will come forward to perform the ceremony. Thus, a Blood chief 782
once told us that he had been very ill all winter; that he had tried all kinds 793
of doctors without relief, until he was stripped of all his property. At last,
he recovered and then made a vow that with the help of his wife he would
give the sun dance. This he did, but, as he expressed it, "with great difficulty
because he was then poor and did not receive adequate help from his [735]
relatives."

Again, it must be noted that women who do not feel equal to the responsibility 796
of the medicine woman's office, make a vow to announce publicly their 782
virginity or faithfulness to their marriage vows, as the case may be, though 793
for an unmarried woman to make such a pledge is the exception. This is
spoken of as "the going forward to the tongues," the full meaning of which 837
will appear later. The manner and occasion of making this vow are in most
respects similar to the preceding. At a certain stage of the sun dance
proceedings, all the women who made such a promise to the sun, come
forward and make their statements subject to the challenge of any man
present. This bears some resemblance to the virginity tests of the Dakota,
but applies more particularly to married women and marital virtue than [171]
otherwise.

Naturally, the number of women making promises of this kind was much greater than for the more important ceremony. Thus, we have a custom of calling upon the sun in time of need which is an almost universal practice, a more restricted form of such appeal peculiar to women in so far that sexual morality is a necessary qualification, the more specific vow of "going forward to the tongues", and the exceptional vow to perform the medicine woman's functions at the sun dance, a fair illustration of the way in which most complex folk ceremonies are supported by a pyramid of less and less differentiated practices.

In passing, it should be noted that when the vow is made to perform 796
the medicine woman's functions, it is literally an obligation to purchase 782
a natoas bundle, or if already the owner of a bundle, to perform its ritual.[1] 793
A woman may own more than one of these bundles at a time; indeed, we 432
have heard of a woman purchasing new ones at several successive sun
dances. This purchase is a fundamental feature in all bundle ceremonies
to which the sun dance bundle offers no exception.

On the other hand, the vow means more than the mere purchase of a
bundle. We are told that the requirement as to virtue holds strictly for the
vow and the tongue ceremony. A woman can buy a natoas in the ordinary [837]

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[1] This series, volume 7, 213.

796 sense and have it transferred with the ritual even though she has not been
782 true to her husband. We are reminded that Scabby-round-robe's wife[1]
793 was not true to her former husband and that when her husband received a
432 beaver bundle there went with it a natoas and accessories; but that while
837 she could use them by virtue of her relation to a beaver bundle, she was not
competent to make a vow and initiate a sun dance.[2] This is consistent with the tradition that the natoas was once bought from a beaver bundle by a woman who gave the sun dance for that year and used instead of a wreath of juniper as in former ceremonies. It also throws some light on the relation of the natoas to the beaver and the sun dance rituals.

Ceremony of the Tongues.

796 While it is obvious from the preceding, that the medicine woman takes
782 her vow at no fixed period in the year, the order of procedure is such that as
793 a rule, she must have taken her vow not later than the spring of the year in which the sun dance occurs. There is no absolute prohibition to qualifying at a later time, as is often the case at present when the consent of the Indian Agent must be obtained before the ceremony is permitted, but the normal order seems to be as just stated. Any way, in the spring, the medicine woman calls upon her relatives for buffalo tongues (in recent years, those of cattle). These are then saved as requested. In passing, it may be noted
[602] that in all ceremonies, the persons upon whom the burden of responsibility falls have not only an inherent right to call upon their blood relatives, but these in turn are under obligations to respond. The number of tongues required is uncertain, some informants claiming that there should be an even hundred, others, that four to five full parfleches was the standard.
[252] Naturally, in recent years, the number has been much less. These tongues
[251] are to be sliced, parboiled, and dried like meat. The slices, however, must be perfect, without holes, and come from the interior of the tongue.

The slicing of these tongues appears to have been the first ceremony of the cycle. It is conducted by a man, usually the father, who formally announced the woman's vow and who conducts all the ceremonies in which

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[1] This series, vol. 2, 83.

[2] For example, we were told that some few years ago the widow of Spotted-eagle took the part of the medicine woman and borrowed a natoas from the mother of Curly-bear. Recently (1911), the latter died. Then the former claimed the natoas on the grounds that she had paid full value for it at the time and that she had now the most right to it. Curly-bear consented. Then, after an interval, this woman transferred it to the wife of —— who made no vow to give the sun dance, for it was generally known that the reputation of the new owner permanently disqualified her for the function of medicine woman.

the medicine woman takes part. There is no stipulation that the same man 796
must direct all parts of the ceremony, but, by custom, this office is performed 782
annually by the same man so long as he is physically capable. To this 793
ceremony are called the medicine woman, the women who have promised to "go forward to take the tongues", and sometimes those having previously performed these functions.

The manner of formally registering the vow and of collecting the tongues is stated as follows:—

Now the woman who made the vow calls on a man and woman who
have been through the medicine lodge ceremony to announce it. The man [302]
and woman come to her tipi and paint her clothes and face and those of [782]
the relative for whom the vow was made with red paint. Prayers are [533]
offered for them and a few songs sung. After this, the four stand in front
of the tipi and the man announces the vow. He says, "Sun, she is going to make a sun lodge for you. I think you and those who are above can hear what is said." Then they move in turn to the south, west, and north side of the tipi, repeating the same words at each stop and finally enter the tipi.

In the spring of the year, when the people run buffalo, the woman has 796
her tipi a little towards the front or center. It may be that she is only [793]
with one of the bands, while the rest are camped elsewhere. Her tipi
stands alone a little to the west of the others. The people are then notified that the tongues are to be given to the woman. Her husband mounts his horse and sets out, taking a pipe and tobacco, but no weapons with him. When he finds a man butchering, he sits down on a robe, fills his pipe, prays
for those present, and smokes with them. The butcher cuts out the tongue, [824]
wipes it off with sagegrass, and places it near the man, who has spread some [237]
buffalo dung with sagegrass on top of it in a row before him. The tongues
are placed on the sage and dung. The man then takes the tongues and rides to where the next man is butchering and goes through the same procedure. After he has gathered up all the tongues he takes them home. Each time buffalo are killed the man rides out to gather in tongues until he has accumulated a hundred.

The tongues having been collected, an important ceremony follows with 796
their boiling and slicing. An experienced man and woman are invited to 782
direct; these are spoken of as the father and the mother. Also, all the 252
women having made a vow "to go forward to the tongues" are invited. In addition, a number of women and men familiar with the ceremonies are called. The woman making the vow (the daughter) and her husband (the son) sit at the back of the fire; next to the former, sits the mother and then the other women; next to the latter, sits the father and then the men in order.

796 782 252 The men sit on the north side and the women on the south. At the proper moment, the mother brings in the tongues, passing around to the south side, and lays them in rows on a half rawhide back of the fire. All the women having made vows are now called upon to slice the tongues. Their husbands must be present.

796 252 The tongues are slit open and the women are invited to slice and boil them. When all the guests are present, one of the tongues is taken and painted black on one edge and red on the other, and given to the woman who made the vow. The rest of the tongues are handed to the women for skinning and slicing; if there were more tongues than women, each was given more than one to slice. After all the women have the tongues, [783] the woman with the painted tongue makes a confession, saying, "Sun, I have been true to my husband ever since I have been with him and all my life. Help me, for what I say is true. I will skin this tongue without cutting a hole in it or cutting my fingers."

[783] The next woman also makes a confession, and so on. After all have confessed, they commence to skin the tongues. As the first woman takes up the knife, the song runs: "A sharp thing I have taken; it is powerful." The knife is painted, one half red, the other black. Should any of the women cut a hole in the tongue skin or cut their fingers, it is a sign that they must have lied and they are ordered from the tipi. At the outset, each woman carefully examines her tongue to see if the skin is perfect. Should a hole be found, the tongue is passed to the director who marks it with black paint. After the tongues are all skinned and sliced, they are passed back to the woman who distributed them and placed in a wooden bowl. The skins of the tongues are tied in bunches with sinew so that they can tell to which woman the skins belong.

The skins are to be boiled by two women. Two sticks are given to one woman and one to the other. All this time singing is going on. The woman who has the two sticks paints them black, while the woman who has the other, paints it red. The three sticks are tied together at one end and are used as a tripod for hanging the kettle in which the skins of the tongues [531] are to be boiled. The legs of the tripod, the wooden kettle hook, and all other sticks are painted half in red and half in black. Also, the kettle is marked with four vertical bands of black and four of red. The four blunt sticks for stirring the pot are painted in pairs, red and black. A red and black painted stick is slipped through the bail, passed around to the north of the tipi, and handed to the two women. During all these movements 796 there is praying and singing. The women each take hold of one end of the stick and go for water.

[782] They make four pauses on this journey, each time praying to the sun and

asserting their marital rectitude and recounting such occasions as they have 796
been improperly approached by a man. All this time, the father and his [182)
assistants sing in the tipi. One of the women takes a cup, makes four
movements with it and dips the water. At this moment the song runs:— [533)

"The water that I see.
Water is sacred."

On the return, the women make four pauses as before. When the pail is finally within the tipi, incense is burned between the fireplace and the door and the pail held in the smudge. The father takes up the board upon which some of the tongues lie and while holding it up in one hand, shakes the cup about in the water, meanwhile making a noise like the buffalo, finally striking the pail a blow with the cup. Here the song runs:— [533)

"Buffalo will drink."

This may be taken as marking one stage of the ceremony. The boiling of 796
the tongue is now in order. When all is ready, the father starts the songs 252
in the next series. The two women hook the kettle on the tripods and while [53)
the kettle is heated, there are other songs and incense burned and the song runs:—

"Where I (buffalo speaking) sit is sacred."

While the water boils, the director takes up a tongue, holds it above the kettle, lowers it slowly, making a noise as if something were drinking. After this, the women place the tongues in the kettle and proceed with the boiling. Here or elsewhere, songs accompany the ceremonial acts. The pot must not boil over.

When the tongues have cooked, the two women rise and stand by the 796
fire as the songs begin. At the proper moment, they remove the kettle 252
and place it on the spot where the smudge was made. First, they take 533
out the painted tongues and then the others. The father takes up a small piece, singing:—

"Old Man (sun), he wants pemmican.
He wants to eat.

Old Woman (moon), she wants back fat.
She wants to eat.

Morningstar, he wants broth.
He wants to eat."

796 Then the painted tongue is passed to the daughter. Now, each of the women tears off a bit of the tongue skin and all hold up the pieces and [782] pray. After the prayers, the pieces are placed in the earth and the tongues are hung up to dry. First, the rope is taken up and a song sung. The woman who made the vow, rises and ties one end of the rope to the tipi pole on the north side and the other end to the tipi pole on the south side, a little to the west of the fireplace. All the tongues, both painted and unpainted, are hung on this rope.

[824] During all these ceremonies there is no regular smudge. The smudges are made with sweetgrass on the grass near the rear of the tipi. The tongues are left to hang for two days before they are taken down to be [262] cooked. When the tongues have been hung, all return to their homes, the women taking the tongue skins with them for their relatives to eat, as [778] they are considered to be blessed and supposed to bring good luck.

[777] After two days, all meet again in the same tipi. The two women who 796 went for the water place the tripods over the fire and while songs are sung, 252 the pot is passed to them with the red painted sticks. The two women, each holding one end of the stick, go for water, praying on the way. When they return to the tipi a smudge, over which they hold the bucket of water, is made between the door and the fireplace. Then the bucket is placed beside the smudge. While the others sing, the woman who made the vow rises and first takes the painted tongue and then the others from where they were hung. They are then placed on a buffalo hide and the woman returns to her place. Four women sit down near the tongues; each one takes a [533] tongue, one of which is the painted one. Kneeling and swaying their bodies in time with the songs, they sing the buffalo songs. The painted tongue is placed in the kettle first and a song is sung: "When buffalo go to drink; it is powerful. Where buffalo sit is powerful (natojiwa)." Then the rest of the tongues are placed in the pot which is hooked on the tripod over the fire. Songs are sung and four sticks, about the length of the forearm, for stirring the tongues, are placed where the tongues were first placed. One of the cooks takes a pair of the sticks and stirs the tongues with them. When removing the tongues from the kettle they are held between two of these sticks.

796 533 Another song, called the song of rest is sung, and all rest for a time and smoke. When the tongues are cooled, another song is sung, the two cooks rise, and taking the pot, place it over the smudge place near the door. To the singing of songs, the painted tongue first, and then the others, are [262] taken out and placed on half a rawhide. The soup is poured into wooden [415] bowls and distributed among those present. No tin cups must be used in drinking this soup. While all sing, the woman who made the vow rises

and first takes the painted tongue and then all the others and hangs them 796 [533]
up as before. This ends the ceremony.

Two days later, the same participants are called together to the same tipi and the woman rises and takes first the painted tongue and then the others from where they were hung. A parfleche is brought and a buffalo song [533] sung: "Buffalo I take. Where I sit is powerful." The painted tongue and then the others are placed on the parfleche. Wild peppermint is put [263] in with the tongues, the parfleches are tied up and placed at the rear of the tipi. Sometimes tongues are dried in front of the tipi on a stage made by [251] setting up two travois with a lodge pole tied between them.

The man and woman who lead the ceremony must not have any metal [823] about them. Brass rings, earrings, and all such trinkets must be taken off. [301] Nor must there be any knives in the vicinity. Even the knives with which [784] the tongues are cut are taken out. No one must spit in front of him, but always close to the wall under the beds. If they do, it will rain. No water [821] is brought into the medicine lodge and when water is brought, it is covered. The only time when it is permitted to eat or drink is before sunrise and after sunset. They must be given food by the instructors. The prayers in this [782] ceremony are prayers for good luck for everyone in the camp.

This closes the preliminaries to the ceremonies leading to the sun dance 796 and may be designated as the cutting of the tongues. As in most other cases, 178 there seems to have been considerable variation in this procedure, both as to time and order. Certainly, for a number of years, it has been much abbreviated. As implied in the program, this ceremony may be performed on the first day. The gathering of tongues was dependent upon circumstances and after the days of the great buffalo drives was a matter of gradual accumulation. Thus, it was explained, that by necessity, the "cutting" was often repeated, though naturally with less ceremony.

The parfleches containing tongues are kept in the medicine woman's 796 tipi where they are "prayed and sung over" during the first and second days 178 of the program. The underlying thought seems to be that they are consecrated to the sun.

In the procession of the fourth day, the parfleches are carried behind the medicine woman by her attendants. In former years, these were the women who had promised "to go forward to the tongues." They are present at the ceremony in the medicine woman's tipi and may be said to be in attendance during the entire fasting period. At the time indicated in the 796 program, the parfleches are opened and the women in turn step out with 182 some of the dried tongue, face the west, and each holding up a piece, address the sun then nearing the horizon. They declare their innocence of adultery, as at the time of making the vow and cutting the tongues. They also

796 [782] pray for themselves and their relatives after which they distribute dried tongue among them. Finally, there is a general distribution of tongues among the people.

796 837 783 However, there is another aspect of their appearance at this point. The Blackfoot assume that many women have at one or more periods of their lives been invited by a man to commit the offence and that often the occasion is one of great temptation or calls for great presence of mind and will power. Now, when addressing the sun, if so approached, the woman narrates the circumstances, naming the men committing the offence, and recounts the manner of her refusal. In naming the offender, they usually say, "I suppose he hears what I say." These women are also subject to challenge of their having committed adultery. It will be seen from this that the part they take in the ceremony is an ordeal for which most women have little liking and one which they will not undertake lightly. The Blackfoot, themselves, regard it as one of the most solemn occasions in the ceremony. So far as we could learn, no one now living was ever present when one of these women was challenged, but the naming of men who were guilty of improper advances was not unusual.

796 793 [785] A retrospect of the concept of the tongues indicates that the entire ceremony, or their association with the medicine woman and those who are sexually pure, gives them a potency that may be acquired by eating. They seem most closely associated with sexual purity since they are less primary in the function of the medicine woman than in case of those who "go forward," the former being required to possess many virtues, the latter but one. While the medicine woman fasts and keeps to her tipi, the others do not.

The Medicine Woman.

[778] [432] [292] [301] We shall now give our attention to the medicine woman. As previously stated, she is in most respects the central figure in the whole ceremony, around whom centers its more serious and solemn aspects. On the fifth day, an elaborate ritual is demonstrated in her tipi, culminating in the procession to the dancing lodge. To this ritual belongs a medicine bundle with accessories, known as the natoas, though the name is primarily that of the headdress which the bundle contains. This bundle is transferred in the ritualistic way to the medicine woman by the ceremony and thus becomes hers to care for and guard until used again at another sun dance ceremony. The ritual and the bundle have been discussed in detail in Volume 7 of this series. In addition to the contents of the bundle, there must be a special robe of elkskin, a dress of the same material, and wristlets of strong elk teeth.

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teeth. A new travois must be provided for moving the medicine woman outfit. Sometimes she herself rides on it. This travois is made by the past medicine woman, her attendant in the ceremonies. [493]

As previously stated, the natoas ritual in the sun dance has for its mythical basis the Elk-woman and the Woman-who-married-a-star, though Scar-face, Cuts-wood, Otter-woman, and Scabby-round-robe are said to have made minor contributions. Versions of these myths may be consulted in Volume 2, part 1 of this series. The Woman-who-married-a-star is credited with bringing down the digging-stick and the turnip, together with the songs pertaining thereto (p. 61), also a wreath of juniper formerly worn in place of the natoas and the eagle feather worn by the man. 796 773

It is also interesting to note that the Crane-woman who transfers the ritualistic attributes of these objects makes a formal declaration of her marital virtue. In the case of Elk-woman, we have again the incident of the Crane and the digging-stick where it is implied that the latter symbolizes the bill of the former. We are informed that many animals were present at this transfer, each contributing something to the regalia. We also find it suggested that the bunches of feathers on the natoas represent the horns of the elk, the elk robe and elk teeth wristlets further symbolizing that animal. In one version of this myth is the antagonistic implication that Elk-woman was not quite up to the standard of marital virtue. In the Cuts-wood myth the "going forward to the tongues" is accounted for. Scabby-round-robe is credited with adding the necklace and the arrow point to the natoas and Otter-woman with the wild cat-tail. 796 773 778

The following statement of an informant has a bearing upon this point:— [539]

> The natoas is said to have come from the Elk. It was first owned by beaver bundle men, but it was the custom for the medicine woman in the sun dance to borrow it for her ceremony. This continued for a time, but ultimately the medicine woman bought it and kept it in a bundle of her own. The feathers on the front of the natoas are said to represent the horns of Elk and the plumes at the sides, the leafy top of the large turnip. This is the same turnip which the woman who went to the sky land is supposed to have dug up. The digging-stick which accompanies the natoas also represents the stick with which she did this digging. Some of the songs in the natoas ritual speak of little children running about and this refers to the ball-like image on the front of the natoas, for this image is stuffed with tobacco seeds, which, as you know, are often spoken of as children, or dwarfs (p. 201). The broad band upon which the natoas is mounted is said to represent the lizard. All these things, it is said, were added to the natoas, one at a time, by some of the beaver men. So it came about that we have the natoas as it is.
>
> Now, as to the story about the Elk giving the Natoas the robe and the wristlets used with it. The objection is sometimes made that this first woman who ran away from her husband to join the Elk was not a true woman and that the facts are therefore inconsistent with the ideal of the natoas ritual. Yet, some of our people claim

796 793 778 [539] that the woman was true and that though she went away with the Elk it was merely for the sake of receiving the ritual and that this is evident because in the story it tells how she was able to hook down trees by her magical powers and it is not conceivable that she could do this if she had not been a true woman.

796 778 793 [785] The ceremonial transfer of the sun dance bundle really begins with the fasting of the medicine woman on the first day. Neither she nor her husband are supposed to eat or drink while the sun is visible, and then but sparingly. On the evening before, they are put to bed by the father and mother. The mother places the daughter on the south side of the fire and the father the son on the north side. They must remain in the same position until morning. Before the sun rises the father and mother go to the medicine woman's tipi, stand by the door and sing. They sing as they formally enter, the father raising up the son; the mother, the daughter. The man is taken out by the father and the daughter by the mother for the morning toilet. When they return a small amount of food is fed to the son and daughter, after which the father and mother take a little food and drink. This must be before sunrise. During the day the son and especially the daughter must sit quietly in their places with bowed heads and eyes cast down. [292] [302] She wears a buffalo robe, hair side in, painted red, covering her head as well as her body. Her hair is not braided, but hangs down freely except for a horizontal band around the head. The hair may be allowed to conceal the entire face.

796 The daughter must do nothing for herself. If she wishes to speak it must be in almost a whisper in the ear of the mother or other attendant, who in turn will announce the import, if necessary. A fire is kept burning in the middle of the tipi, the ears are closely drawn around the smoke hole, the door closed, and the tipi cover securely staked down at the edges. [237] Though this keeps the temperature high, the medicine woman cannot use a fan, but may use the skin of a muskrat to wipe the perspiration from her face and hands.

796 785 784 During the fasting period no noise must be made in the tipi. All the attendants must avoid unnecessary conversation and speak in a very subdued tone; utensils must not be rattled or struck together. Visitors may enter, but respectfully and quietly. No noises should be made in the vicinity of the medicine tipi and boisterous acts abstained from in all parts of the camp circle. If water is brought in the vessel must be covered. No one should spit in the tipi nor do the other things forbidden at the ceremony of the tongues.

796 [372] [784] Throughout the whole period there is a male attendant. He keeps the fire alive during the night and until camp is moved. He can only start the fire with an ember from some other tipi, striking fire in the tipi being strictly prohibited.

796 [276] prohibited. Pipes can only be lighted from the fire by this attendant with service berry sticks. A blaze must be avoided as much as possible. The attendant cuts the tobacco and fills the pipe and when burnt out he must empty the ashes into a small hole in the ground near his seat. Everyone is expected to sit quietly, leaving the moving to him. He remains on duty during the night also.

796 793 [484] Formerly, the tipi of the medicine woman was moved three times, four different camps resulting, the last being at its position in the circle for the sun dance. As a considerable journey was often necessary to reach the sun dance site these camps might be far apart. Theoretically, the camp is pitched late in the afternoon of each day. At the sun dance a special sweathouse ceremony takes place. This will be discussed later. After this the evening and greater part of the night are spent by those in attendance at the medicine woman's tipi in rehearsing the songs and instructing the son and daughter.

796 793 484 [493] Like everything else, moving the camp of the medicine woman is a formal matter. The travois is made, painted red, and reserved for the special use of the medicine woman. When the time for breaking camp in the medicine woman's band arrives, she and her husband are led out and seated upon a robe at the west or rear of their tipi, facing in the direction to move. The parfleche of tongues and other paraphernalia are brought out by the attending women and put down beside the couple. The mother directs the attending women in taking down the tipi and hitching the horse to the travois. The parfleche of tongues is packed on the travois. When all is ready, the woman and man are led to their horses and assisted to mount, the woman riding the horse to the travois. The father and the son go ahead in single file, next the mother and the daughter, or medicine woman. They pause four times, as songs are sung. After they get some distance out, they stop and wait for the camp, now moving for the first time. This procession of four always leads, the two men side by side and behind them the two women likewise. At noon, when they stop for lunch, the two are again seated on a robe, the travois unhooked and laid down before them. Then follows the camp some distance behind. The old men form a circle and smoke near the pair.

[575] At this time the father orders one of the men's societies to go forward and mark out a camp site. When this spot is reached, tipis are pitched and when everything is in place the medicine woman and her husband are taken inside.

796 575 343 On the morning of each day a society is given instructions to make the sweathouse at the camping place, a man to get the creeping juniper and another to cut out the smudge place. As the sweathouse procedure is a distinct ceremony, it will be treated under another head.

796 343 The following account of the evening ceremonies in the medicine woman's tipi was given by Red-plume:—

539 [575] [533] In the evening, after sunset, the first sweathouse is made. All those who took part in the ceremony before and a few other old men are invited. The man who fills the pipes and tends to the smoking during the ceremony remains on duty during the whole sun dance ceremony. Four-bears is told to tell the mosquito society to sing that night in their own tipi which is inside of the circle. This society is to sing the sun dance songs, the weather-makers dancing songs, the rest of the people remaining quiet through the night. In the medicine lodge they sing until a little before daybreak.

The smudge place in the medicine lodge on the first day and for the first sweathouse is a square marked in the soft earth with a crescent in the middle of it. It is not painted. Under the crescent is a dot where the smudge is made.

796 539 533 When all the guests are assembled in the tipi the ceremony for the evening begins. Food is given to all; the medicine woman and her husband have their meat cut up for them. While a song is sung a piece of meat is held over the smudge, four passes made with it, and then fed to the man and woman. The same thing is done with water. After this they may help themselves to the food. After the meal is over the singing begins. The sweetgrass is taken up and a song sung: "Old man, takes spring grass. Old woman comes in with her body." Another man takes the smudge stick and places a live coal on the smudge place. The singer holds the grass over head and then brings it down on the coal. This song is for the morningstar: "Morningstar says let us have a sweathouse." Seven songs are sung for the sun and moon which are spoken of as the old man and old woman. These with the seven sung for the morningstar make fourteen sung thus far.

796 533 539 302 Since the men have been in the sweathouse where the paint has all washed off, five songs are sung to re-paint the man and woman. As the man sings, he takes some red earth paint with a ball of fat which he rolls in the palms of his hands. The song is: "Old man says red face I take." He makes a streak crosswise on the man's forehead, vertically on his cheeks, and across the chin. The entire face is then covered with the same red paint. The robe is then taken from the man's shoulders. He sings another song as he takes up the sagegrass and brushes one side of the man's head, his arm, and then his body. At the same time, the woman is painted on the other side of the tipi. Another song is sung and he takes the paint, rubs it in his hands, and sings: "This man I am making his body holy, powerful." The same words are sung for the woman. The man's body and robe are then painted.

796 533 539 237 When the tongues were first taken in to be sliced, two round buffalo dungs together with a ball of sweetgrass were given to the man and woman. They keep these to wipe the paint from their hands. A song is sung for the dung. The two men and the two women hold their hands over the dung. They make four motions with the closed fists and then touch the ground to the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast of the dung. The words in this song are: "This may help me to live long, and help me through life." There is also part of a buffalo dung. The smudge stick is taken up, with the song: "Timber I am looking for? Timber I have found and taken." The two men and the two women all grasp the forked stick. They sing as they take up the dung with it and gradually move it up the stick until it rests on the fork. Then it is held over the fire. Someone knocks the dung into the fire and it is covered with ashes. The song is: "Powerful, I start. Powerful

796 533 539 where I sit." To throw the dung off into the fire is a sign that enemies will be conquered.

237 Four songs are now sung for the muskrat skin used to wipe the faces of the man and woman: "Man says, my medicine, I am looking for. I have found it." The skin is taken up. Two songs are sung for the parfleche with tongues in it. It is taken up very slowly and the singing continues during all the movements made with it. It is held over the smudge and placed to one side, the cords untied, and the tongues taken out and distributed to all who are now in the tipi. The two medicine-men and women also eat. The song when first taking up the parfleche is: "Buffalo [782] I am powerfully starting. It is powerful where I sit." When undoing the cords the [262] words are: "Buffalo I take some." When the first tongue is taken out, a little piece is held up by everyone, prayers are said, the small pieces are placed on the ground, and they begin to eat them.

Seven songs for the eagle tail feather with which the sun is supposed to have brushed off the scar from Scar-face's face and is supposed to be the feather brought down from the sun by Scar-face follow: "Old man says, hand me a feather." The feather is passed to the man. Another song follows: "Old man says he wants a hundred feathers. Old woman wants different kinds of feathers." Seven more songs are sung, the words of some of them are: "This man says that above have seen me. It is powerful. The ground I see is powerful. Old man, says, white buffalo robe I want. Old woman, says, Elk I want. Old man says, don't fool me. Old woman says, don't fool me." The meaning of this is to be sure and give them what they ask for, that is, offerings made at the sun dance to the sun, moon, etc.

796 533 539 Seven songs are sung before they take up the rattles and the rawhide and five songs for the raven. At this time, the man takes hold of one of the rattles by the ball part touching it to the ground, while he holds the end of the handle straight up. The raven songs are: "Raven says, buffalo I am looking for; buffalo I take. The wind is our medicine. The brush is our home. Buffalo I take." The man pecks the rattle handle with one finger on both sides and crows. Then they begin to beat the rattles on the rawhide and shake them in a circle once.

Now seven songs are sung for the smudge which is made of a species of fungus that grows on a kind of willow. The songs: "Old man says, all right, may my lodge be put up. Old woman says, all right may my lodge be put up or built." These words mean that the sun and moon are speaking and want the sun dance lodge built without any accidents.

The next songs are for the natoas bundle which is not opened. The songs: "Old man comes in, he says, I am looking for my bonnet. I have found it. It hears me. It is medicine." The old woman sings and uses the same words in her songs. There are six of these bonnet songs. The songs for the badger skin follow: "The man above hears me; he is powerful. The ground is my home; it is powerful." There are four songs for the badger. The badger skin and other things are not handled, the songs about them are simply sung. The songs for the natoas are: "Old man says I am looking for my bonnet. I have found it: it is powerful." The woman then sings a song with the same words, which is followed by a song about the stone arrow points on the natoas. There is a song for everything which makes up the bonnet which is as follows: the leather band, the blue paint on the band, the stuffed weasel skin tied crosswise on the bonnet, the weasel tails hanging from the bonnet, two feathers in front, and two behind, two plumes on each side of the bonnet, a flint arrow point, a buffalo calf tail, a snipe, and a small doll the head of which is

796 533 539 stuffed with tobacco seed. The song for the doll on the bonnet is: "Children are running about. They are running from us. They are running towards us. They are boys. They are powerful." The man says, "Give me the child," and makes the movement of reception. Another song is sung: "Child is crying," and the man imitates the crying of a child. The song for the little birds is: "Bird says water is my medicine; it is powerful," for the calf tail: "Man says calf tail I want," and for the arrow point: "Sharp points are on both sides." Then follows the song for the leather band which represents the lizard: "Yonder man, I am angry and mad at you." This song of the lizard refers to the prairie dog chief. The blue paint on the band represents water and the song for it is: "The blue waters are our medicine." The song for the feathers is: "Feathers I want." Another song for the plume on the feathers: "Red I want." This closes the evening ceremony. The man and woman are put to bed and all go home.

796 539 543 [484] This is the ceremony after the first sweathouse is made. Three more moves of the entire camp and three more sweathouses must be made. The fourth move and sweathouse is where the sun dance takes place. Nowadays, only one sweathouse is made for the sun dance.

796 It seems that the final camp is marked out by a society laying rocks around its bounds, according to which the arriving bands find their proper places.

796 798 At the fourth camp and on the fourth day, the natoas bundle is opened, or its formal ritual demonstrated. Early in the day another tipi is pitched before the medicine tipi and the covers are joined, thus enlarging the space and providing for a few spectators. A few men and women are invited to assist in the ceremony: the men use the rattles and with the women aid in the singing. The father and other men sit on the north side [793] of the tipi, the former next the medicine woman's husband; and the other women sit on the south side, the mother next to the medicine woman. She directs the medicine woman and the singing of the other women. The ceremony opens at about ten A. M. with the first series of songs in the ritual. [534] Three men hold a rattle in each hand, beating them upon the rawhide by a vigorous downward forward stroke, the seventh rattle is used by the father.

796 798 432 The ritual of the natoas will be found in Volume 7, pp. 215-220. Normally, this ceremony transfers the natoas to the daughter. She may, however, waive the right, in which case the bundle returns to the former owner. Yet, she seems to enjoy all the privileges accorded to one having been an owner.

Theoretically, no one can perform a transfer ceremony without having first owned the bundle in question. In case of the natoas, even now, a beaver owner is regarded as competent to conduct the proceeding, though he may never have gone through the ritual with his wife. This is consistent with the tradition that formerly the natoas was a part of the beaver bundle.[1] Yet, the conditions here are slightly different from those for other bundles in that the father must provide or is charged with the responsibility to see that a natoas is provided. Following the vow, either he or the son makes formal application to the owner of a natoas by the usual presentation of a pipe.[2] 796 778 432

When the daughter begins her fasting, the father has the natoas brought to her tipi. As a rule, the father's wife owns a natoas. Some informants claim that even should the daughter own a natoas, the father must provide another. On the other hand, the daughter can select the eligible natoas. In any case, the father furnishes the daughter with a dress and an elk robe for which he must be paid liberally.[3] [785] [124]

In conclusion, it may be remarked that anyone can make up a natoas, if he has a dream so directing him; also, if he owned a natoas that was lost or otherwise destroyed; if he gave it away, without receiving payment; or if it was buried with someone. Having owned a natoas and transferred it, he cannot duplicate it; should the new owner lose it, he may, if called upon, replace it; likewise, if buried, the surviving husband or wife could call upon him. In all such cases fees are given. When one transfers a medicine bundle and has been paid for it, he has no more right to it and cannot duplicate it on his own motion. Should one sell the bundle without the ceremony of transfer, the ritual remains with him and he can again make up the bundle; should one make the transfer and fail to receive the pay, or waive the pay, he can make it up again. The relatives of one buried with a bundle can call upon a former owner to make it up, after which it must be formally transferred to one of them. Men were sometimes killed on the warpath and their bundles lost; such were replaced as noted above. In every case these must be true duplicates; it is only a dream that authorizes new creations, or variations, however slight.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the idealized qualities of this woman's function by the following narrative:— 796 793

Once while a medicine woman was sleeping in the sacred tipi during the fasting, a nephew of her husband stole in and made improper advances. 837

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[1] In former times, the natoas and the medicine woman's costume were owned by a beaver man. When a woman gave a sun dance she gave a horse for their use. She just borrowed them. Later on, a beaver man transferred them, whence they became a separate bundle.— Tom Kiyo. [422] [778] [426]

[2] Should the woman already own a natoas and the transferrer (father) own one, the woman must say which bundle shall be used. She can use her own, borrow, or purchase of the transferrer.— Curly-bear.

[3] A Piegan informant comments as follows: The woman can either buy or borrow a natoas. In the olden times she often borrowed because the natoas, the dress, the elk tooth wristlets, and the robe were owned by a beaver man's wife. After a time, however, these were transferred to a medicine woman and were thus separated from the beaver bundle. [426]

796 Being a good and true woman, like all others who give the sun dance,
793 she spurned him. Next day she told her husband the whole story. He
837 was very angry. He was not satisfied with the confession she made, but
783 suspected that she must have given the young man some encouragement.
So when all the medicinemen and women had come into the tipi to rehearse
the songs as usual, he made a statement of these suspicions and as he had
two wives, he proposed to have them change places.

[756] The medicinemen pleaded for the first wife because they believed her
innocent, but the husband was obdurate. So the second wife was called
in to take the place. Then the first wife said, "It was I who saved this
man's life when he was ill. I made the vow to give the sun dance and
he got well. I have suffered much in fasting, all for him. Now he disgraces
me before all the people. But I will put my virtue to a test. If
I am true, I have already acquired power."

[782] She filled a pipe, went outside and standing now on the east side of the
tipi, then on the south, the west, and the north, she addressed the sun.
[821] The day was clear, but soon after the woman entered the tipi, thunder was
[789] heard. A storm came down with hail and blew over many tipis. But in
spite of these proofs, her husband was obdurate and the second wife went
on with the ceremony.

796 Not long after the sun dance this same man became ill again. Finally, as
755 a last resort, he called upon the first wife to save him again. This woman
593 told him to call upon the other woman as he seemed to have so much faith in
her. So he died and was properly punished for so unjustly treating his
faithful wife.

THE PROCESSION TO THE DANCING LODGE

796 In our account of the natoas ritual we told how the father, son, etc.,
778 emerge from their tipi. The file is headed by the father, followed by the
793 son, next the mother, then the medicine woman followed by women bearing
788 the tongues. The father and the son are muffled in blankets (robes);
the latter walks with bowed head, leaning heavily on a staff and bearing
over his head a wild rhubarb stalk.[1] The medicine woman wears the natoas
on her head, an elkskin (often buckskin) dress and an elkskin robe, with
the digging-stick on her back. For a staff, she uses one of the smudge sticks.
The women in her rear bear parfleches containing the tongues, together
with blankets and other ordinary objects. Two or three old men act as

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[534] [824] [262]

[1] Scar-face is said to have made a whistle (flageolet) of such a stalk. The pith of the growing plant is sometimes eaten for food.

conductors, or flankers, keeping the way clear of spectators, etc. The 796
procession moves slowly and by stages. The four principal personages 778
in it keep their eyes upon the ground. The course is southward past the 793
entrance (east side) to the dancing lodge, around the south side, the rear [788]
of the shelter and entering from the north side. Here the medicine woman [346]
remains until the dancing lodge is raised at sunset, when she returns to her [262]
tipi and breaks her fast with berry soup. The father and the son go to a [343)
sweathouse after which their responsibilities also end. During the continuance of the ceremonies in the sun lodge, the medicine woman cares for the natoas bundle, now her property, until transferred to another, but is otherwise free to do as she likes. She usually remains quietly at home receiving guests and resting.

The part of the medicine woman is truly a sacrifice. She and her 796
husband must pay liberally everyone called upon for ceremonial service 793
directly connected with the tongues and the natoas ritual. They must [432)
also pay a considerable amount of property for the natoas itself. To give
the ceremony means the sacrifice of all personal property. On the other [555)
hand, there is compensation, aside from fulfilling the vow. Her relatives
are very proud of her since she is so virtuous. She is highly respected by her husband and family. In a measure those who "take the tongues" are also respected. The medicine woman may act as the mother in a future sun dance for which she will receive presents and she may eventually
realize something by transferring the natoas to another. Should anything [783)
go wrong during the ceremony, the weather be unfavorable, etc., people
will look with suspicion upon her and say she must have lied in her confession to the sun. Should she become ill or have deaths in the family, the same charge will be made.

The Offerings of Cloth. After the procession headed by the father and 796
he is in position at the west side of the dancing lodge, offerings of cloth 782
and clothing are brought up by the people. A man making such an offering hands the father a filled pipe and the cloth. The father holds the pipe and offers prayers for the giver and lights and passes the pipe to other
old men sitting around. The cloth he lays in a pile. Then he paints the [302]
giver: first the face is smeared over with red, then black spots are daubed
on the cheeks, nose, forehead, and chin, four in all. A black circle is marked around each wrist. Women bringing offerings and pipes go to the mother who prays for them and paints their faces red with a black spot on the nose and a black circle around the face. There is also a black circle around each wrist.

THE HUNDRED-WILLOW SWEATHOUSE.

796 As stated before, a sweathouse of special form is constructed on the
343 third day. This is said to have originated with Scar-face, it being the house
into which he was taken by the sun. About the middle of the day a society
[575] is sent out for the willows. These were usually those of the younger men;
the pigeons and mosquitoes. There is a belief, however, that in former
times only warriors could be sent upon this errand. These persons are
[823] mounted and return in procession, singing and circling the medicine woman's
[784] tipi in the direction of the sun, and deposit their willows at the west side
of the camp circle. They must not drink water while on this duty.

[575] An older society is called to build the sweathouse. They must not
[784] drink water while engaged in this operation and receive some of the tongues
after the ceremonies of the fourth day. Formerly, these men must have
[555] had a coup to their credit as a qualification and some informants claim that
the sum total for the society should have totalled at least one hundred,
the number of willows. The work begins some time before sunset by which
time the sweathouse should be completed.

[824] The willows are stuck into the ground in an oval and their tops bent
over and interlocked over the top. The ends point toward the east and the
west, an opening or door being provided at each. The willows are then
painted, one side red and the other black. Next, a hole is dug in the center
of the structure for the heated stones. In the meantime, a small heap of
stones mixed with firewood has been placed some distance to the east.
[237] A buffalo skull is painted with red spots on one side and black on the other.
Sagegrass is thrust into the nose and eye-sockets. Robes are then thrown
over the willows and all is ready for the procession from the medicine
woman's tipi.

796 The procession from the medicine woman's tipi consists of the father
and another man experienced in ceremonial affairs, the husband, the mother
343 and the medicine woman. They approach slowly and by stages, passing
793 around the south side of the sweathouse to the north and then to the east or
[823] entrance. All keep their eyes on the ground. The husband walks with a
[778] heavy staff; the medicine woman carries the natoas bundle with a smudge
stick.

The men enter the sweathouse, while the two women go to the west side
and sit down facing the east. The medicine woman is on the north side with
796 the bundle before her. After the men have entered, the fire is lighted and
some of the attendants (builders of the sweathouse) lift the buffalo skull to
343 the top of the sweathouse where it faces the east. Prayers and the usual

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sweathouse procedure now follow while the stones and a pail of water are passed in by an attendant. The covers are then drawn down and the vapor bath taken. 796 343

After the ceremony the procession returns to the medicine woman's tipi. The cover is removed from the sweathouse and the buffalo skull placed on top where it remains.

Should there be more than one medicine woman, another sweathouse is made on the east side of the camp circle and the others grouped around them equally. [793]

Since after the sweathouse ceremony there is formal singing in the tipi until far into the night, it may be said that during the four days of the fast the ceremonies begin with the sweathouse at sundown, while on the fifth day the ceremony begins in the morning and ends at sundown. [533]

To this generalized statement the following account from a Piegan may be added:— 796 343 539

Now, when the first sweathouse is to be made, orders are given in the morning to one of the societies to get the willows to make the hundred-willow sweathouse. Another man is to get the creeping juniper to use in the smudge place in the medicine lodge, and still another is to cut out the smudge place. The moves are short. The people all move camp, as before, and the society goes on ahead and stakes out the camping ground. When the tipis are pitched at the new camping ground, the society comes in with the willows and the rocks for the sweathouse. They circle once around to the right of the lodges and stop outside of the circle, west of the medicine lodge. They must neither eat nor drink while building the sweathouse. They gather wood from among the tipis until they have enough to heat the rocks. Robes for covering the sweathouse are borrowed from the people of the camp. One man goes to the medicine lodge and digs out the smudge place.

When the sweathouse is ready for the medicinemen, four of the men who helped in the construction go and inform the men and women. They carry the parfleche with the tongues in it on a robe, each man holding a corner. The two medicinemen take the lead, the two women follow, then come the four men with the parfleche. Four stops are made before they reach the sweathouse. The instructor leads, and is followed in single file by the other man, and the two women walking very slowly and singing. They march once around the sweathouse in the direction of the sun. The other old men who are to join them and the two medicinemen go in while the two women remain seated on a robe just west of it with the parfleche beside them. A smudge is made with sweetgrass, and a crescent-shaped place marked out between the square hole and the rear of the sweathouse and live coals are placed on the dot in front of the crescent. A song is sung while the smudge stick is taken up and a man goes after the coal for the smudge. The sweatgrass is placed on the live coal and the two songs for the smudge are sung: "Spring grass I take. Where I sit is powerful." A pipe is handed in and the pipe bowl and stem painted red. The man holds the pipe over the smudge and prays for the one who gave it to him and then passes it to the last man to his right who lights it and all smoke it. When the pipe is all burnt out, the man who blessed it, takes it, and with a red-painted stick loosens

796 343 539 the ashes and empties some of them on the southeast corner of the square hole in the sweathouse, then on the northwest corner, on the northeast, and finally in the center.

After this the buffalo skull is brought in and the songs of the buffalo sung while the same man paints it with black and red dots, the left half black and the right half in red. Grass is stuffed into the eyes and nose of the skull which is passed out through the west of the sweathouse and placed on the earth taken out of the hole in the sweathouse. An extra buffalo horn wrapped with swamp grass is brought in and given to the man who paints it red and sings while doing so: "Chiefs of other tribes I want to hook." He throws the horn out and all the men of this society who remain near the sweathouse try to catch it. The one who captures it is considered lucky and he is supposed to capture a gun in the next battle he witnesses.

The men in the sweathouse all undress and as they pass their robes and moccasins out through the west of the sweathouse and the door, the buffalo songs are sung. The two medicinemen only wear a robe and moccasins when they go into the sweathouse. While singing, the forked stick is taken up and one of the outsiders goes for the heated stones, stopping four times before he brings them in. One of the men who is inside takes the stone with two straight sticks and places it on the southeast corner of the hole, the same is done with four more stones which are placed on the southwest, the northwest, the northeast corner and the fifth is placed in the bottom of the hole at the center. When a sixth stone is placed in the hole, they are all rolled to the bottom of the hole. Water and a horn spoon or wooden bowl is brought in.

A little water is thrown on the stones to wash them, the curtains are lowered, and prayers to the sun, moon, and stars, and earth begin. In groups of four, sixteen medicine lodge songs are sung. The curtains are raised and four more songs are sung; the sweathouse is opened and four songs are sung, until the sixteen have been completed. The two medicinemen go out through the west of the sweathouse while the rest go through the door. The men dress, and the parfleche containing the tongues is opened and the tongues given to the members of the society who made the sweathouse. The medicinemen and women do not eat. After all are provided with the tongues a piece is broken off each and while all hold the pieces up a prayer is said and the piece of tongue placed on the ground. Then they all begin to eat. After this the robes are all returned to their owners, the buffalo skull placed on top of the frame of the sweathouse with the nose pointed towards the east and the medicinemen and women return in single file while four men follow behind carrying the empty parfleche. The men who belong to the society may now eat and drink as they wish.

THE DANCING LODGE.

796 346 The dancing lodge may be said to take its origin on the fourth day, by which time the medicine woman has her tipi in place near its site and the camp circle has been formed. In construction, nine forked tree trunks about nine feet in height are set in a circle. Across their tops, except the eastern face, are laid stringers about fifteen feet long of the same

material.[1] In the center, is another forked tree trunk much higher than the other (this we shall call the sun pole) connected with each of the stringers by a rafter. Green boughs are placed thickly against the outside of the lodge. On the inside, at the rear, is a booth screened and roofed with boughs. The material is cottonwood. That other woods were occasionally used, is attested by the fact that a locality is known as "the place of sweet pine dancing lodge." 796 346 [824]

Some informants claim that in former years each band was required to furnish two rafters, a post, a rail, and their proportionate amount of boughs. Two rafters were used instead of one as now, each band furnishing the section opposite their place in the circle. The contradiction between the number of bands and the size of the dancing lodge seems not to have troubled our informants. Now, the young men go out during the early part of the fourth day to cut the poles and boughs. This is done without ceremony. A crier usually rides around the camp circle reminding the various bands of their duty. Formerly, the young women went out on horseback to drag in the poles and brush. On this occasion, they dressed in the best costumes and used the finest horse trappings obtainable. The men cut the poles and brush, hitching them to the drag ropes with their own hands. As the procession galloped toward the camp circle, the men rode behind, shooting and yelling. In recent years, the men bring the material in on wagons without demonstration. [178] [621] [203] 178 796 346

Men of some prominence are selected to dig the holes for the posts. The posts are erected and the stringers put in place, excepting one on the west side nearly opposite the entrance. The rafters are leaned against the stringers, ready to be pushed in place and the green boughs piled up at convenient places near by. 796 346 [554]

The cutting of the sun pole is attended with some ceremony. Some informants claim that formerly this was to be carried out by the medicine woman's band; others that one of the men's societies was called upon for this service. 796 346 313 [178] [575]

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[1] Obviously, this would make the dancing lodge very large. In reply to this objection it was said that they were large; that it was necessary to select as a site places where very long rafter poles could be cut; that formerly societies and others performed evolutions within on horseback. The late Little-plume is credited with having introduced the present custom of reciting deeds, requiring horses, outside the dancing lodge. It may be of interest to note that the Arapaho also made very large sun dance shelters. [171]

In 1906 Mr. Duvall measured the dancing lodge. The sun pole stood sixteen feet from the ground to the fork. The posts were eight feet and approximately sixteen feet apart. The diameter of the whole was fifty-two feet. The fireplace was east of the sun pole six feet and was four feet by two feet and five inches deep. The booth for medicinemen was five feet eight inches wide by seven feet six inches deep. The two holes were about a foot forward from the sod walls, eight inches across and six inches deep. The man who has been marking out the site for the lodge during the last few years, begins by selecting the place for the sun pole and stepping off seven paces as the radius.

796 this service. In any event, they go out as a war party and locate a suitable
346 tree. A man with a war record, preferably one having struck an enemy
313 with an ax, comes forward, takes an ax, paints the blade as he recounts
[554] some event in which he killed an enemy, and then strikes the tree. Four
such deeds must be told before the tree can be felled. Then one or two
men cut the tree as the others stand around. As the tree begins to fall
all give the war cry and shoot at its top, then rush up, and tearing off
branches, wave them in the air as if they were trophies from an enemy.
Indeed, the whole proceeding, from start to finish, is a mimic attack on an
enemy.

The pole is cut to approximate form and taken to the site of the dancing
[493] lodge. One end is placed on a travois (in recent times on a wagon), while
[178] the riders assist with their ropes, their horses massed around the travois
horse.

796 The hole for the sun pole is dug without ceremony by relatives of the
346 medicine woman. When it is in place, they tie a bundle of green boughs
in the fork,[1] making everything ready for the raising in the evening. The
sun pole now lies on the ground with the butt over the hole and the forked
end supported by a piece of timber. The fork points to the west. It
[531] seems that formerly the pole was painted. Just below the fork it was
circled by two black bands and two red ones beneath these.

Cutting the Thongs.

[237] A fresh cowskin (formerly two buffalo hides) is provided that thongs
may be cut for binding the rafters to the stringers and the objects placed
on the sun pole. There seems to have been no hunting ceremony for providing this hide and there is now no symbolic hunting. After the medicine woman is in the shelter, the ceremony of cutting the thongs takes place. If no one volunteers, men are "caught." The men who cut the thongs last year may do the "catching" or engage representatives to do it. Formerly, this function was exercised by old warriors who had captured enemies alive. The "catchers" go quietly about the camp looking for eligibles. While pretending to pass one by without notice, they suddenly lay hold of him. The victim may pull back, but is not allowed to resort to other means

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[824] [1] The bundle of boughs is neither spoken of as the thunderbird's nest nor given a name of any kind: though some old men seemed to know that other tribes so designated it. We made diligent inquiry on this point and feel that the above statement is correct. Reference to published photographs will show that the brush is merely gathered into a bundle and not made into the form of a nest as in case of the Crow.

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of resistance. He is then led up to the hides near the front of the medicine 796
woman's shelter. In former times, four such men were brought up for the 346
ceremony. They must have coups to their records, otherwise they would (555)
not have been selected. In the ceremony of 1904 we observed an attempt
to "catch" a man on horseback, but the struggles of the horse enabled
him to escape. In former times, the friends of the interested party would
have gathered around the rear and sides of the horse forcing him forward
in the lead of the "catcher". This whole catching procedure is said to
symbolise the capture of an enemy.

In order to understand the ceremony that now takes place, it is necessary 796
to know that the right to cut the thong is to the Blackfoot a medicine 346
to be transferred for gifts of property as in case of other medicines. The 424
men who did the cutting in the previous year are to "sell", or transfer, 432
this year. It is they who do the "catching", either in person or by deputy.
Should no one be brought forward, those who performed the rite on the
previous year must again serve. As soon as a man is caught, his relatives
are notified; they come out with all kinds of property to support him in the
transfer. The initiate is brought into the presence of the present owner
of the right, his hands and face are painted, accompanied by ritualistic
prayers. While this proceeds, an old man (usually a relative) stands
somewhat apart and shouts out praise for the initiate. However, this may
be done by a woman, if no man comes forward. A horse and other property
is then given to the former owner of the right, whence it ceases to be his.
The deputy "catcher", if there is one, then receives a small present or two
from the former owner.

The cutting of the thong then takes place. The new owner of the right, 796
standing up by the hide, shouts out his coups. He holds the knife in his 346
hand and while pointing in different directions with it, he tells of a war 555
deed. At the end of each tale he makes a pass with the knife as if to cut
the hide. After four deeds are told, he cuts the hide. For example, he
may say, "At such a place I captured a horse which gives me the right to
cut this, etc." If there are other men with the right, they follow in turn. 796
After this, the thongs are cut with the assistance of other men and distributed 346
at the places where they will be needed. A thong with the tail attached [237]
is used to bind the bunch of boughs to the sun pole, the tail hanging
down.

While this ceremony is going on, gifts of flour, beef, etc., made by white [431]
people are distributed among the old poor people. This is regarded as [177]
a recent intrusion.

The following extract from an unpublished version of the Scar-face [773]
myth accounts for the thong-cutting ceremony:— [539]

796 Her husband could tell by her eyes that she had been crying and he said, "I
346 told you not to dig up that turnip, but nevertheless you have done so. Since you
are lonesome and wish to return to your people, I will take you back." Then Morn-
773 ingstar went out and killed some buffalo. After he had skinned all of them he cut
539 the hides into long strands, fastened them together, and tied the woman and her
child to one end and let her down from the sky to where her people were.

Before she reached the earth, a little sore-eyed boy was lying on his back, looking up at the sky and saw a very small object coming down. The boy told the men who were playing the wheel gambling game what he saw, but they laughed at him and threw dirt in his eyes and said, "You must see the gum on your eyelids or lashes." As the falling object came closer others noticed it and when it came among the group they knew that it was the woman who was missing from the camp. They untied the rawhide strand and noticed that some of the buffalo tails were on the ends of the long rope which lay piled up high before them.

This woman came down with her digging-stick. As she was not a wicked woman and only lived with Morningstar as her husband, she gave her digging-stick to the medicine lodge woman and the natoas was named for the turnip she dug up. When the sun dance was held, this woman told them always to cut up a rawhide into strands and tie the posts with them. Also that the center post and the birch on it must be tied with them. The tail of the hide is to hang down from the center post. These rawhide strands are a representation of the rawhide rope with which this woman was let down to the earth. Later, the moose hoofs are tied to this digging-stick. The plumes on the natoas are to represent the leaf of the large turnip this woman dug up while in the sky.

RAISING THE SUN POLE.

796 While the hide is being cut, all the woman who made vows to take some
782 of the tongues come forward to the parfleche placed near the medicinemen
[783] and women. Each woman takes one of the tongues and stands with the
person for whom her vow was made and makes a confession to the sun in
a loud voice, so all may hear. Then she prays to the sun for the beneficiary. After all the women have taken their tongues, some of the men tie the cloth offerings to the ends of the poles and a bunch of birch is tied between the forks of the center pole.

796 The preceding ceremony comes to a close as the sun gets very low.
346 About time for the sun to set, a procession of pole raisers starts from each
of the four quarters of the camp circle. Tipi poles are tied near the small ends in pairs, each pair carried by two men. The four parties advance in unison by four stages and at each pause sing a special song. In the last move, they rush upon the sun pole and raise it in place. In the meantime, the father and son go and stand on the center pole while their wives stand to the west. The men make wing movements with their arms toward the east. According to some informants, the medicine woman may make hooking motions at the pole, to symbolize the mythical Elk-woman.

Four men are called upon to assist the father and son. As the latter stand upon the pole, they encircle and screen them with their blankets and join the father in singing. The songs call for good luck in erecting the dancing lodge. The son does not sing. Four songs are sung. At the end of each the father blows a whistle while someone shakes the pole. The last time they jump off the pole. The son drops his blanket (some say the father also, some add moccasins) painted black as a sun offering. Another blanket is handed him at once. 796 346 [533] [782]

As soon as the men leave the pole the advancing raisers rush in, raise the center pole, put on the rafters, tie them with the rawhide strands and place brush all around to form the wind-break. This is accompanied by much shouting, but without shooting.

While the sun pole is being raised the daughter and mother stand watching it. They pray and make movements with the corners of their robes as though steering the rising pole. As it sways from side to side, they gesture as if righting it.

As soon as the pole is set, the natoas, robe, and moccasins are taken off the daughter by the mother. She may call on someone to do this and pay a gun or a horse for the service. The mother and other attendants then lead the daughter to her tipi where she resumes her ordinary routine.

The father and son go to a sweathouse where all the paint is washed off. This is not the hundred-willow sweathouse and is the fifth sweathouse, if it were counted. The two men go in and some sagegrass being handed to the father, he takes off the feathers tied to the son's hair, the hair necklace, and whistle. After the first opening of the sweathouse he takes the sagegrass and wipes off the black paint on the son and hands out through the west side of the sweathouse the necklace, whistle, and feathers which are to be taken home. At the same time, the two women are in the ceremonial lodge, the mother caring for the daughter. [302] [343]

When the men have completed the sweathouse ceremony they go to the medicine woman's tipi. The father and his wife wrap up the natoas and place it in the badger skin. After this is done, they no longer have to eat sparingly. This ends the ceremony of the medicine woman. [778] [261]

Early the next day she and her husband must obtain the cottonwood brush with which the booth for the weather dancers is made. Another man digs out the place in the booth, making it the same as the smudge place in the medicine woman's tipi, with the sod on three sides and creeping juniper on top of it. The fireplace is dug out to the west of the center post and is made as in the medicine woman's tipi. When going for and returning the brush, the woman rides one horse and leads the one dragging 796 793 346

796
793 her travois. While when the other brush was brought in there was much
346 shooting and shouting, there are now no demonstrations of any kind,
but absolute silence.

THE WEATHER DANCERS.

796 Early on the fifth day, a booth is built inside the dancing lodge opposite
346 the entrance. A slight excavation about six feet square is made over which
is erected a shelter of green cottonwood boughs, open on the side facing the
796 sun pole. Before the middle of the day, a procession of one or more men
supposed to have power over the weather, attended by drummers, proceeds
535 by stages from the medicine woman's tipi to this booth. They pause
[791] four times and dance, facing alternately the east and the west. They
[789] hold whistles of bone in their mouths, which are sounded in unison with
the dancing. The procession is of two transverse lines, the dancers in
-[821] front, the drummers and singers behind. A great deal of dancing is done
between the entrance to the dancing lodge and the booth. At intervals
during the day they stand before the booth and dance to the east and west:
the drummers are now stationed on the south side of the booth where
women also assemble for the singing. The dancing is chiefly an up and
down movement produced by flexing the knees, the eyes are directed toward
the sun and wing-like movements of the hands are made in the same direc-
[291] tion. The dancers wear breechcloth and moccasins and usually a robe
[302] around the waist. Their faces and bodies are painted according to their
own medicines and medicine objects worn on their heads.

796 It is stated that there is but one weather dancer, but others may join
791 under certain conditions. In practice this seems to amount to there being
a director or leader in the dance, at least such was the case in 1903 and 1904.
535 In 1904 the two assistant dancers went to the medicine woman's tipi to
paint themselves and began their procession from there, while the leader
approached in a similar manner from his own tipi, the two forming one
procession before the east side of the dancing lodge was reached. The
[292] leading dancer wore a special ceremonial robe, headdress, and several
medicine objects, which have been described in Volume 7 (pp. 98-99).

These objects and their medicine functions may be regarded as esoteric
in so far as they are not absolutely essential to the office of leading dancer.
Yet, this same individual seems to have performed this function for a number
[237] of years. Clark mentions strings of feathers tied to the finger of this dancer.[1]
[301] In 1904 there were two assistant dancers. Both wore headdresses

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[113] [1] Clark, W. P., *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia, 1885), 72.

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somewhat like that of their leader. One was fully dressed with a blanket 796
around his waist; the other was nude to the belt. The latter was painted 791
chiefly in red with a circle in blue on the back and one on the breast. The 535
former had a pair of horizontal lines on each cheek, those on the right, [302]
black, on the left, red.

It is said that formerly these dancers were nude, except for the breechcloth and moccasins. The entire body was painted. There seemed to have [302]
been no fixed painting, but the sun, moon, and stars were usually repre- [532]
sented. Around the head, they wore a wreath of juniper and bands of [824]
sagegrass around the neck, wrists, and ankles.

The weather dancers are not permitted to eat or drink during the day. [784]
Formerly, they remained in the booth continuously until the evening of the fourth day of their dancing; in recent years, they spend the night at home and return to the booth in the morning.

The functions of these dancers are not clearly understood. They seem 796
to be held responsible for the weather: i. e., upon them falls the duty of 789
preventing rain from interfering with the dancing. Whether they do this 821
because they happen to have independent shamanistic powers or whether 791
it is a mere function of their temporary office in the ceremony, cannot be determined. Other medicinemen often attempt to control the weather during the days preceding the formal entry into the booth as well as during the later days. In 1903 (Piegan) there was a contest between a number of rival medicinemen some of whom conjured for rain, others for fair weather: strange to say, clouds would threaten and then pass away during these days, which coincidence was interpreted as proof of evenly matched powers. Several times one of the partisans of fair weather came out near the site of the dancing lodge and danced to the sun, holding up a small pipe and occasionally shouting. He wore no regalia and danced in a different manner from that observed among the weather dancers at the booth. However, the man who led the weather dancers for many years until his death in 1908, was famous for his control over the weather. Once, it is told, he became enraged at the power making the weather bad, shouting out "Now, you go ahead, if you want to. I have great power and can stop you when I will."

In former times, the dreams of the weather dancers while sleeping in 796
the booth were considered of special supernatural significance, since, it 791
is said, they were *en rapport* with the sun. This *rapport* may account [787]
for what seems to be one of their chief functions — blessing the people.
During the days they are in the booth, individuals come to them "to be 791
prayed for." They come up and stand before the booth. The dancer 782
takes black paint and paints their faces. Then he prays to the sun for their 796
[304]

791 welfare. During this part of the ceremony the recipient faces the sun.
782 Again, the medicine-pipes and other ritualistic objects are brought up for
796 the dancer to present to the sun. The pipes he holds up with the stems
towards the sun, whom he addresses at some length, offering him a smoke,
[276] making requests, etc., after which he smokes the pipe. All the persons
present are then permitted to put their lips to the pipe from which they
are supposed to derive great benefits. The dancer also receives offerings
made to the sun. A young man may fill a pipe and approach with his
offerings. The dancer takes the pipe, smokes, prays, paints the man's
face, and makes the offering. A woman or child may do this; or a whole
[178] family. Formerly, a great deal of old clothing was offered at this time,
a custom still practised by the Blood. Also children's moccasins and cloth-
[425] ing were offered in this way. As they grew out of them they were given
to the sun to promote well-being. In last analysis, it seems that while
these dancers are spoken of as weather priests, they are rather sun priests,
since through them appeals to the sun are made. It should be noted that
they are regarded as independent of and in no way associated with the
medicine woman ceremonies or the erection of the dancing lodge, but upon
entrance to the booth, the leading weather dancer is said to become the
chief and director of all succeeding ceremonies. The length of the cere-
mony depends entirely upon him and formerly continued as long as he kept
his place.

796 Like other rites this one was bought and sold, but it was usual to continue
432 in ownership many years. Anyone could make a vow to dance with the
782 weather dancer and join him in his ceremonies, but such vows were usually
made by former owners of the rite. When one makes a vow to purchase
the rite, its owner must sell, however reluctant he may be. The transfer
must be in the sun dance. It is said that two men once alternately sold
to each other for many years so that both could appear in every sun dance.

DANCING.

796 The first ceremony of this character is named the cutting-out dance
535 (to cut out a hole in a robe). It seems to have been performed by a society
and occurs early on the fifth day. About four or six old men dance in line
with a rawhide which they hold in front of them, singing and beating time
on the rawhide with rattles similar to those of the beaver men. The society
now divides into two parties, one placing itself north of the center pole,
and the other party standing in line south of the center pole. The two
parties dance back and forward in front of the pole shooting at it. The

old men on the west side of the center pole dance in their places. The 796
rawhide held in front of them, hangs down like an apron. They beat 535
time on it, holding the rawhide in one hand, and the rattles in the other.
An old man counts deeds and marks out with a knife the fireplace and the [887]
booth for the weather dancers. These are dug while the dancing and [354]
shooting take place.[1] [346]

The hole, or fire pit, is dug between the sun pole and the entrance to 796
the dancing lodge. It is about three feet by two and "two hands" deep. 354
A warrior is then called to start the fire. Warriors now come forward 555
in turn to count their coups. In this a man took a piece of firewood and
holding it up, called out in a loud voice how he once struck a Sioux, a Snake,
etc., then placed it in the fire. When he had recounted all he gave way to
the next. Stories are told of men having enough coups to make a fire large
enough to threaten the destruction of the dancing lodge. We were able [804]
to confirm the statement of Clark[2] that the height of the flame as determined [237]
by a buffalo tail hanging down was the criterion for determining a great
warrior. One informant states as follows:—

There is always a cow tail hanging down from the center post. In [237]
olden times this was a buffalo tail, to the end of which a blackened plume
was tied. This hangs down over the fireplace which was used at night to [373]
furnish light for the proceedings. The assembled people were entertained
by narratives of warriors as they came forward to narrate their deeds;
each threw a stick on the fire for each deed counted and he whose fire
blazed high enough to reach the tail was considered a great warrior. It
was a great honor when a man could tell enough war deeds to scorch the
tail. All this time there was singing (the cheering songs) and drumming, [533]
while berry soup was served to all. The persons taking part are designated
as those "who are about to make the fire." In recent years, this ceremony [178]
has been performed in a very perfunctory manner.

After the ceremony, the fire was fed in the ordinary way and kept 796
going during the greater part of the succeeding days. The origin of this 354
dance is often ascribed to Scar-face.

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[1] It will be recalled that in the sun dance of the Dakota type (p. 110) there is a ceremonial [171]
shooting at the sun pole. Here the shooting takes place in a perfunctory way, while the pole
is dragged to the sun dance site. Yet, McQuesten claims to have witnessed the driving of [113]
evil power from the sun lodge at a Blood ceremony in 1912. ("The Sun Dance of the Blackfeet" *Red and Gun in Canada*, March 1912.) As this is not noted in older accounts and we failed to get information as to it, we suspect it to be due to foreign influences, or perhaps the author's own interpretation.

[2] Clark, *ibid.*, 72.

SOCIETY DANCES.

575 In former times, the succeeding days were apportioned to the men's
554 societies (the ikunukats) in the order of their rank, beginning at the lowest.[1]
796 There seems to have been no fixed allotment of time to each, only the order
of succession being adhered to. The ceremonies were determined chiefly
[555] by the respective society rituals, though the recounting of deeds in war
was given great prominence. As a rule, each society closed its ceremonies
[782] by offering parts of its regalia, etc., to the sun, a custom still observed
by the Blood (See vol. 11, this series, fig. 19, p. 411). After the highest
society had completed its function, the leading men of the tribe held a
kind of a war dance in which coups were recounted. In this dance, again,
rattles were beaten upon a rawhide. The organizations or persons having
charge of the day's ceremonies must furnish the feast and all necessaries.
[793] The medicine woman and her husband usually repair to the dancing lodge
each day. The man usually takes his pipe and tobacco and furnishes the
smoking for the guests who sit around. His wife wears the buckskin dress
and elk robe, but not the natoas. They sit on the north or right side of
the booth and merely are spectators. This closes the ceremonies and camp
is broken.

THE TORTURE CEREMONY.

785
796 The torture feature, especially prominent in the ceremonies of the
304 Mandan, Hidatsa, and Dakota, was formerly given a place among the danc-
[791] ing lodge ceremonies of the Blackfoot. The information we have seems
to indicate that this ceremony had not become thoroughly adjusted to
[648] its place in this series at the time of its prohibition by the United States
and Canadian governments. The claim is made by some of the Piegan
[177] that it was borrowed from the Arapaho and was not looked upon with much
favor. As one man expressed it, "None of those taking the cutting lived
to reach old age." It was said that a few Blackfoot warriors once visited
[177] the Arapaho at the time of their sun dance where they were put through
[424] the cutting ceremony. According to the Blackfoot mode of thought, this
means that the medicine rites (and rights) were transferred to them. When
they returned, they induced others to take the cutting, to whom, of course,
the rites were transferred. Whether this historical statement is accurate
or mythical, we have no means of knowing, but we are inclined to give

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[1] This series, Vol. 11, 205–474.

785 796 it some weight as evidence. It seems, however, that warriors took the
304 cutting because of a vow, similar to that of the medicine woman. Sometimes
(782) a man dreamed that the sun required it of him. The giving of property
(781) and the conditions of the transfer were the same as for "cutting the thong,"
though we have no information that "catching" was permitted. Such may,
[432] however, have been tolerated.

The men taking the cutting were nude to the belt. Sage was tied
(824) around the wrists and ankles. The hair hung down, held in place by a
wreath of cedar (some informants say sage). They were painted white.
[302] Rows of spots in blue extended down the sides of the face, over the shoulders
and down the arms. Wavy lines of the same color were also drawn down
[532] the arms. A circle representing the sun, was made on the breast, also
upon the chin and probably on the back opposite the one over the heart.
On the forehead was another circle representing the moon. Other informants
say a crescent moon in black was used instead of these circles.

785 According to one informant, vows were made to purchase this ceremony
796 when ill or in great danger. If the promise brought results, the vow was
304 fulfilled at the next dance. The supplicant calls upon one having purchased
432 the rite. They enter the booth of the weather dancers, a blanket
(782) is held up to shut out the gaze of the others. The transferrer then paints
the purchaser. He cuts a hole through the skin of the right shoulder,
over the scapula, and a hole over each breast. A small sharpened stick
is thrust through each. A shield is hung on the back. Long cords were
fastened to those on the breast, the ends of which were tied fast, high up
to the center pole. The purchaser goes up to the pole, embraces it, and
cries for a time. Then he backs off, and dancing, throws his weight on
the ropes. The transferrer jerks the shield from his shoulders and if necessary,
(781) assists him in tearing loose. At once, the purchaser goes out into the
hills and sleeps in different places to receive power.

It is said that all who take this ceremony die in a few years, because
[761] it is equivalent to giving one's self to the sun. Hence, the sun takes them
for his own.

785 796 The cutting was similar to that described by Catlin and other writers as
observed elsewhere. Some informants say the dancers held whistles in their
304 mouths and gazed at the sun as they danced. When all the thongs were
(782) torn out, some of the lacerated flesh was cut off as an offering to the sun.

McLean reports the following observations upon this ceremony at a Blood sun dance:—

> ....The chief attraction to the pale-face is what has been ignorantly termed "making braves." I desired very much to see this ceremony once, that I might know the

796 facts from personal observation, and draw my own conclusions after conversing
304 with the Indians.

785 Two young men having their whole bodies painted, wearing the loin-cloth only, and with wreaths of leaves around their heads, ankles and wrists, stepped into the center of the lodge. A blanket and a pillow were laid on the ground, and one of the young men stretched himself upon them. As he lay, an old man came forward and stood over him and then in an earnest speech told the people of the brave deeds, and noble heart of the young man. In the enumeration of his virtues and noble deeds, after each separate statement the musicians beat applause. When the aged orator ceased, the young man arose, placed his hands upon the old man's shoulders, and drew them downward, as a sign of gratitude for the favorable things said about him. He lay down, and four men held him while a fifth made the incisions in his breast and back. Two places were marked in each breast denoting the position and width of each incision. This being done, the wooden skewers being in readiness, a double edged knife was held in the hand, the point touching the flesh, a small piece of wood was placed on the under side to receive the point of the knife when it had gone through, and the flesh was drawn out the desired length for the knife to pierce. A quick pressure and the incision was made, the piece of wood was removed, and the skewer inserted from the under-side as the knife was being taken out. When the skewer was properly inserted, it was beaten down with the palm of the hand of the operator, that it might remain firmly in its place. This being done to each breast, with a single skewer for each, strong enough to tear away the flesh, and long enough to hold the lariats fastened to the top of the sacred pole, a double incision was made on the back of the left shoulder, to the skewer of which was fastened an Indian drum. The work being pronounced good by the persons engaged in the operation, the young man arose, and one of the operators fastened the lariats giving them two or three jerks to bring them into position.

The young man went up to the sacred pole, and while his countenance was exceedingly pale, and his frame trembling with emotion, threw his arms around it, and prayed earnestly for strength to pass successfully through the trying ordeal. His prayer ended he moved backward until the flesh was fully extended, and placing a small bone whistle in his mouth, he blew continuously upon it a series of short sharp sounds, while he threw himself backward, and danced until the flesh gave way and he fell. Previous to his tearing himself free from the lariats, he seized the drum with both hands and with a sudden pull tore the flesh on his back, dashing the drum to the ground amid the applause of the people. As he lay on the ground, the operators examined his wounds, cut off the flesh that was hanging loosely, and the ceremony was at an end. In former years the head of a buffalo was fastened by a rope on the back of the person undergoing the feat of self-immolation, but now a drum is used for that purpose.

From two to five persons undergo this torture every Sun-Dance. Its object is military and religious. It admits the young man into the noble band of warriors, whereby he gains the esteem of his fellows, and opens up the path to fortune and fame. But it is chiefly a religious rite. In a time of sickness, or danger, or in starting upon some dangerous expedition, the young man prays to Natos for help, and promises to give himself to Natos if his prayers are answered. Upon his return, when the Annual Sun-Dance is held, he fulfills his vow, gives himself to his god, and thus performs a twofold duty. Of course the applause of the people and the exhibition of courage are important factors in this rite, but its chief feature is a religious one.

● 796 304 785 Instead of being a time of feasting and pleasure, the Sun-Dance is a military and religious festival, in connection with which there are occasions for joy, and the feast enhances the pleasure.[1]

782 304 785 It may be well to note that the offering of bits of flesh to the sun was a general practice not necessarily associated with the sun dance. Many comparatively young men now living (1904) bear numerous scars testifying to such offerings. When in perilous situations a finger would sometimes be struck off with a call upon the sun for help. Among the Blood, such sacrifice of a finger by women as well as men was common at the sun dance.[2] These facts concerning the more general practice of mutilating the body to win the approval of the sun suggest that if the cutting ceremony is intrusive, it either found on hand a series of analogous customs or brought with it a concept that afterwards gave birth to them. It may be observed [178] that the form of costume and dance is strikingly like that employed by the present weather dancers.

782 304 785 726 539 Since there seems to be no good published data on the sacrificing of skin and fingers we append the narrative of Split-ears:—

> Sometimes, when warriors are on an expedition and come in sight of the enemy they will sit in a circle while the leader, or the oldest member of the party, offers prayers that they may succeed in their undertaking. Then they proceed to offer bits of their own skin to the sun. The one who prayed sits down by one of the party, takes up a needle or bodkin and a knife, thrusts the former under a small section of skin and raising it, cuts off a small slice with a knife. This leaves a circular wound a quarter of an inch or less in diameter. It is understood that the operator pulls the skin up with the needle and slices off a small section underneath that instrument. He then takes up some black paint and dips the bit of skin into it. Then he holds it up to the sun and prays for the success of his victim. The bit of skin is then placed upon a piece of cloth and another is removed from the victim in the same manner and so the operator goes to each of the party in turn, each time removing a piece of skin, dipping it in black paint, and holding it up in a prayer to the sun. While each person is expected to give two pieces, they are not limited to the maximum number, some men giving four and some still more. The bits of skin thus collected are tied up in one corner of the cloth which is mounted upon a stick wrapped with wild sage, the whole being fastened in a tree or set up on the top of a high hill as the

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[113] [1] McLean, John, "The Blackfoot Sun Dance" (*Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, third series, vol. 6, Toronto, 1888), 233–237.

[2] McLean, as an eye-witness to such a sacrifice, gives the following:—

"As I stood outside the lodge, a young Indian friend of mine, went to an old medicine-woman and presented his sacrifice to Natos. During the year he had gone on a horse-stealing expedition and as is customary on such occasions had prayed to Natos for protection and success, offering himself to his god if his prayers were answered. He had been successful and he now presented himself as a sacrifice. The old woman took his hand held it toward the Sun and prayed, then laying a finger on a block of wood she severed it with one blow from a knife and deer's horn scraper. She held the portion of the finger cut off toward the Sun and dedicated that to him as the young man's sacrifice." (p. 236.)

stating that if brought home safely he will sacrifice a finger. This sacrifice can be 782
made at any time; either when on the warpath or when at home in camp or at the 304
sun dance. In such cases, the finger is offered to the sun in the precise manner as 785
the pieces of skin described above. 539

There are, however, occasions upon which fingers are cut off that are not offerings [726]
to the sun. Thus, people who are in mourning sometimes sacrifice a finger. In [765]
those cases it is usual to call upon some old woman who is skilled in the amputation.
She cuts off the finger, usually reciting a kind of ritual, but it is not offered to the sun.
It is simply thrown away. Then again babies' fingers are sometimes cut off to give [777]
the child good luck. Thus, if a woman lost many children she would call upon an
old woman to make the sacrifice for her newly born. In this case, the tip end of a
finger is cut off and wrapped up in a piece of meat which the mother is required to
swallow. This is supposed to insure the child's living to maturity. It had no
connection with the sun.

I have told you how men are called upon to cut off pieces of skin and how certain 539
old women were selected to amputate fingers. You should also know that in olden 763
times there were some women and men who might be called upon to cut open dead
persons for various reasons. Sometimes they did this on their own account in order
to get information as to the cause of death.

These accounts show for one thing that the cutting ceremony in the sun 782
dance is but one of a type of blood and flesh offerings made to the sun, in 304
fulfillment of a vow. The sacrifice of a finger is more frequent and less 785
specialized, though frequently done at the sun dance. Then comes the
very frequent offering of bits of skin, a sacrifice common in war raids at all
times. The offering of bits of skin in the precise manner described here is [171]
found elsewhere in the Plains. The writer has observed men so scarred
among several divisions of the Dakota. The method of removing the skin
was here the same as followed by the Blackfoot. The thrusting in of the
awl has a curious similarity to the cutting and skewering in the sun dance;
one may even be pardoned for wondering if it did not so arise.

SUN DANCE SONGS.

Two songs have a special place in the ceremony. They are sung by 796
the men as they ride into camp with the willows for the hundred-willow 533
sweathouse. They are sung again when the procession of pole raisers
moves up to raise the sun pole. Formerly, they were sung by any considerable body of the tribe approaching the camp of strange Indians.
Likewise, when they approached a post to open trade.[1]

Red-plume, a Piegan, has a smudge stick on which are notches said

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[1] For musical notation see McClintock, Walter. *The Old North Trail, or Life, Legends and Religion of the Blackfeet Indians* (London, 1910), 311. [113]

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
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796 to represent the number of different songs used in the ceremonies of the
533 medicine woman. There are 413 which is said to be the full number of
songs. These, as has been stated in Volume 7, are in reality a part of
the beaver bundle ritual.

The singing at the dancing ceremonies after the sun lodge has been erected is usually confined to the songs of various societies concerned. There are, however, a few with characteristic airs that are regarded as peculiarly appropriate to the occasion, regardless of who may be dancing.

THE SUN DANCE CAMP.

361 In a previous paper, we called attention to the belief that the camp
621 circle was formed expressly for the sun dance. Our informants say that
formerly the circle was formed by the assemblage of the bands some time
796 before the medicine woman began her fast. In winter, the tribes scattered
[221] out, usually two to five bands in a camp, often many miles apart. At the
approach of summer, the husband of a woman having made a vow to give
[203] the sun dance sends a man to look up the camps and invite them to join
his band. He carries tobacco and presents some to each head man with
the invitation. As the head men receive the invitation, they order their
bands to move, forming the circle at the medicine woman's camp. Once
formed, the circle is not broken until after the sun dance, a period estimated
at from two to four months. The whole body may move about and even
make long journeys aside from the four ceremonial moves required while
[221] the medicine woman is fasting. After the sun dance, they split up into
parties for the fall hunt and finally went into winter quarters. The import
of our former statement is thus apparent. The suggestion is that the
camp circle is intimately associated with the sun dance. At least, one
point is clear, the camp circle is initiated by the woman who starts the
sun dance and even so is one of the preparatory steps.

As previously stated in Volume 7 of this series, there is much uncertainty as to the order of bands in the circle. We doubt if it ever was absolutely fixed beyond change at the will of those in charge of the sun dance proceedings.

MYTHOLOGICAL NOTES.

773 The way that several distinct myths are used to account for different
796 features of the sun dance might be taken as a suggestion that the ceremony
grew up among the Blackfoot. We suspect, however, that we have here
an example of pattern phenomena. Those familiar with the detailed

773 796 study of rituals in Volume 7 will recall that tradition recognized the obvious fact that rituals were not produced all at once, but grew by accretions. This is so marked in the mythical accounts of ritual origin that we may suspect its appearance in the mythology of the sun dance. On page 241 we have enumerated the myths accounting for important features of the ceremony. Among these are not included the parts taken by societies or the cutting sacrifices, they, as we have stated, not being regarded as integral parts of the sun dance.

For the sake of completeness we offer some extracts from an unpublished version of the Scar-face myth:—

We will take up this narrative at the point where Scar-Face has killed the cranes and reported with their scalps. We are told that had not Scar Face killed these birds, they would always have killed people, but that since he overpowered them they now fear people and have done so ever since.

> 539 773 796 Now, the Sun, the Moon, Scar Face, and Morningstar had a scalp dance while the Sun and Moon sang the praise songs in honor of Scar Face. The Sun addressed Scar Face: "When your people kill enemies they should scalp them and then give a scalp dance. Whenever anyone counts coup or recounts his war experiences, the praise songs should be sung." We have followed this custom ever since. Whenever anyone related his war deeds, some old men or old woman sang the praise songs, repeating the narrator's name during the singing.
>
> The Sun was pleased with Scar Face. He directed Morningstar and Scar Face to build four sweathouses, standing side by side, with their entrances facing east. When they were completed, the Sun, Morningstar, and Scar Face entered one of them, the Moon remaining outside to close the door. After the Sun had worked over Scar Face, he ordered the moon to open the door and they went into the next sweathouse, again choosing the moon to be the door attendant. Now, the Sun asked the Moon to point out her son. The Moon designated Morningstar. They moved into the third sweathouse where the Sun had Morningstar and Scar Face exchange seats. Again, the Moon was asked to pick out her son. Though she noticed that the scar on the young man's face had disappeared, she pointed to her own son. They proceeded to the fourth sweathouse. Again, the Sun had the two men exchange places. The Moon looked in and pointing to Scar Face said, "This is Morningstar." The Sun replied, "You have mistaken him for Morningstar, the other is our son." Ever since that time, Scar Face has always been called Mistaken Morningstar.
>
> Then the Sun gave Scar Face a buckskin suit decorated with porcupine quills. On the breast and back of the shirt were quill-worked rosettes representing the sun; the side seams of the leggings and sleeves were covered with strips of quillwork three or four inches wide. In addition, the sleeves and leggings bore hair fringes representing the scalps of cranes killed by Scar Face. The Sun also gave Scar Face a bow with a lock of hair fastened to one end, a whistle made of a hollow reed, a bladder, and the robe worn by Scar Face. To represent the scalping, the Sun painted the upper part black. The whistle and the bladder were to be used on the woman who had refused Scar Face. The bow too, is a reminder of the killing of the cranes and is still used in the sun dance lodge. The Sun gave Scar Face a circle of creeping juniper which the women that build the lodge (the sun dance or medicine lodge) are to wear on their heads.

23: Wissler E-4,5 (1902-ca.1911) 1918
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539 773 796 The Sun told Scar Face of the sun dance, the lodge, and the sweathouse, and added, "When you return to your people and wish to make an offering to me, you must first build a sweathouse and there make your offerings. Then I will hear your prayers and accept them. You may also make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. He covered Scar Face's face with the "seventh" or red paint, drew a black circle around his face and a black dot on the bridge of his nose, and a streak of black around each wrist. He said to Scar Face, "This is the way the people must paint when they make offerings to me in the sun dance lodge. For the victory or scalp dance they must paint their faces black." The Sun also gave him a necklace, in the center of which were strung two small shells and a pendent lock of hair, flanked on either side by four beads. This is the necklace worn by the husband of the woman owning the natoas. The Sun's lodge was made of white buffalo robes and some the color of beaver skins. The door of the Sun's lodge faced the east. For this reason, tipis were always turned so the doors faced east. Now Scar Face decided to return to the place where Spider waited.

The narrative then proceeds in the usual way, except that the hero calls all the men of the camp to take revenge on the young woman after which he by magic turns her into a cripple.

THE BLOOD AND NORTH BLACKFOOT.

796 184 The writer has upon two occasions seen the ground where a Blood sun dance had been held. The dancing lodge, the sweathouse, etc., were still standing and all these were just as noted among the Piegan. The Blood lodge was a little larger, but the Piegan said that it was formerly so with them, they now having very poor timber to work with. We have in addition two brief published accounts of eyewitnesses.[1] [575] The chief difference we could detect was in the secondary dances of the society where the Horns and the Matoki[2] took a very prominent part. As there are now no such organizations among the Piegan, this gives merely an outward appearance of difference.

The Northern Piegan, as may be expected, also had the same form. As to the North Blackfoot, we have only the statement of other Indians 796 171 that the sun dance was the same. The Sarsi[3] also had the very same form and we may suspect the Kutenai as well. At least, my Piegan informants asserted that the Kutenai had the sun dance from them. The problem here, however, must rest until we have more data, though Hale is of the opinion that the Blackfoot gradually displaced the Kutenai and took over many Plains traits from them.[4]

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[1] McLean, *ibid.*, 231–237; McQuesten, *ibid.*, 1160–1177.

[2] This series, volume 11, 410–418, 430–435.

[3] Goddard, Pliny Earle, "Sarsi Texts" (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 11, no. 3, Berkeley, 1915), 192–195.

[4] Hale, H., "On the North-Western Tribes of Canada" (*Report, Fifty-seventh Meeting, British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 173–200, London, 1888), 196.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

lodge for Sun that summer. When it was completed the people came 796
with their most loved belongings to sacrifice them to Him Above. 782
Praying him for his pity, his help, asking him to give them long and
full life, they made their offerings, and the Sun priest tied them to
the center post of the great lodge. Myself, I gave my real-bear skin.
My mother had softly tanned it, and on its flesh side I had painted a [532]
picture of myself shooting the real-bear as it came leaping toward
me. As I entered the sacred lodge and handed the robe to Red Eagle
for him to attach to the center post, I felt grateful to Sun for all that
he had done for me. Earnestly I prayed him for long and full life for
my family, for all the Pikunis, and for myself.

The sacred ceremonies ended, again the bands of our tribe sep- [221]
arated, going one way and another to pass the summer. Our Heavy [361]
Runner band departed to cross Big (Missouri) River and camp and
hunt here and there along Yellow (Judith) River.

All of our bands kept in frequent communication with one another 177
and so in time we got some bad news. It was that Mountain Chief's band had gone to Many-Houses (Fort Benton) to trade, and there some drunken white men—Grouse, Night Watcher (Henry Kennerly), Real White Man (Peter Lukins), and others—had, without cause for it, hanged Heavy-Charging-in-the-Brush and had shot and killed Bear Child and Rock-Old-Man, three prominent members of the band. That made us feel very sad, very angry. We decided to trade no more at Many-Houses.

It was not long after the murder of our three men at Many-Houses 175
that visitors brought us more news: Owl Child, leading a few of his friends, had gone up to Wolf-Also-Jumped Creek and had himself killed Four Bears. I was present when Heavy Runner and other leading ones of our band got together to talk about it. They agreed that Owl Child had been justified in killing him. Much as I hated Owl Child for killing my father, I had to admit that he had had good right to kill this fire-hearted, quarrelsome, white man. Four Bears had tried to steal his woman; and failing in that, had struck him, beaten him. In no other way could Owl Child have wiped out that terrible dis-
grace. Well, that was naught to me. I was not forgetting my vow: 000
the time was coming when I would make Owl Child cry for what he had done to me and mine.

It was indeed a magnificent bird, a male war eagle,[2] its tail feathers 223
long, smooth, glossy, white with black tips. As we rode homeward
with the bird, I was as pleased with the success of the day as he.

"A good beginning," Black Otter said to him. "Catch three more [825]
of them, and then I will prepare you for the war trail."

Within ten days' time Fox Eyes had the tail feathers of four eagles,
all of them caught at the pit. Wonderfully good luck, all said, for [714]
he now had enough of the tail feathers for the fringe of the shield
and for a war bonnet, too. We then went out hunting, and with my 224
rifle he killed a buffalo bull, an old, old one, whose once crescent-shaped, smooth, black, sharp horns were now mere rough, pale stubs.

"He has been brave; he has fought many battles and survived
them," said my friend, as we were removing the hide from its neck
and shoulders. "It is a sign that a shield made of his hide will be my [714]
powerful protector, keep me safe in fights with our enemies." [825]

There was evidenced his real faith. To the Blackfeet there was a [787]
sign, an omen, for good or for bad in everything, no matter how
trivial. We took the piece of thick hide to Badger Woman, and she
carefully removed its fur, leaving the glossy, brownish-black surface intact. Then one afternoon it was handed to old Black Otter, 796
and the interesting ceremony of transforming it into a shield took 281
place. 714

Black Otter was dressed in his war clothes, soft buckskin shirt, [793]
leggings, and moccasins, beautifully embroidered with varicolored [292]
porcupine-quill designs, and on his head was a horns-and-ermine-skins war bonnet. His hands and face were painted a dull red, the [822]
sacred color. By the side of his lodge the piece of bull hide was [302]
stretched and pegged to the ground, and, kneeling on it, he began
to pray, at the same time starting to cut from the hide a circular piece
about four feet in diameter.

"Oh, Sun! Oh, Night Light! Morning Star! Oh, all you Above 796
Ones," he chanted, "Listen and pity us this day. This shield that I am 782
making, give it of your sacred power so that it will keep its owner 714
safe in his encounters with the enemy. Oh, Above Ones! To all of

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[2] It was the golden eagle, *aquila chrysaëtos canadensis*. [036]

796 782 us, men, women, children, give long good life, good health; help us
714 to overcome our enemies who are ever seeking to destroy us."

714 Some women were heating a number of stones in a little fire, and
281 near it a small pit had been dug in the ground. The women rolled
part of the stones into it, covered them with a thin layer of loose
[793] earth. Then Black Otter, with the help of three war-clothed friends,
laid the circular piece of hide over the pit and, inserting pegs into
slits that had been cut at regular intervals along its edge, fastened
it to the ground.

[555] As each man drove in a peg, he counted coup, told of some fight
with the enemy in which he had been the victor. Tightly the hide had
been fastened down; it began to shrink from the heat under it until
it pulled the pegs over. As fast as they loosened, the three men helpers
[793] drove them in again; Black Otter carefully supervised the work,
often feeling of the hide to make sure that it did not get hot enough
to burn, and calling for more hot rocks as they were needed.

In about an hour the hide had shrunk to about half its original
[793] diameter, and was at least an inch thick. During that time Black
[782] Otter had frequently prayed, and with his helpers had sung a num-
[533] ber of sacred songs. Finally Fox Eyes took the hide home and in due
714 time made a beautiful, tail-feathers-trimmed shield of it. Lastly he
made a war bonnet of the remaining tail feathers, and was then ready
[721] for war. A few days later he did set out with a small party to raid
the horse herds of the Assiniboines, and I returned to the trading
727 post. A month or more later Fox Eyes came to visit me, came sing-
554 ing a war song, riding a fine horse and leading another. Tossing its
[533] rope to me, he said: "*Apikuni*, I give to you this Cutthroat (Assini-
boine) horse. Three of them I took. One Cutthroat I killed and this
--see it—many-shots gun I took from him. *Apikuni*, Sun is good to
[787] me. My sacred helper, that water animal of my vision, is powerful.
[825] *Apikuni*, I am a happy man. I am soon to have a lodge of my own."

"Good! Have three wives, four wives. While you are about it, be
a real chief," I said.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The White Quiver Saga
(Told by White Quiver)

115 When in his prime my long-ago friend *Ksiks Unopachis*—(White
Quiver) was a noted warrior of the Pikunis, largest, most powerful
one of the three Blackfoot Indian tribes. He was born about 1850
and died on the Blackfoot Reservation, Montana, in 1931. He was
very quiet and reserved, seldom joining the gatherings of his story-telling,
● [796] laughing, joking, fellow tribesmen around their evening
[555] lodge fires. It was during the annual Medicine Lodge ceremonies
of the tribe, when one by one the warriors counted their coups that
he particularly shone, holding his audience all but breathless as he
told of his raids, his killing of enemies, and his taking of enemy horses.

648 On a night early in September, 1885, a war party of Crows made
721 off with a band of horses owned by some of the Pikunis who were
camped on Badger Creek, not far above their agency. A year previous
to this, following instructions from Washington, the agents
of the various Northwest Indian tribes had notified their charges that
they must absolutely cease going on raids against their enemies. But
now, having himself lost several of his horses in the raid of the night,
White Quiver declared that he cared not for the orders of *Kaahks*
721 *Anon* (Our Grandfather, the President). He was going to take revenge
upon the Crows. Several of the Pikuni warriors wanted to go
[776] with him, but as always he refused their company. He had always
[787] been a lone raider and always would be. His sacred, powerful, secret
helper, a certain animal that had appeared and counseled with him
in his long-ago fasting vision (dream) had told him that to be suc-

000 tains (Little Rockies), Lower Little (Milk) River, and from there south of Big (Missouri) River to Elk (Yellowstone) River."

648 721 726 Following the trail of the Entrails People[A] from Bear River, Red Plume and his party discovered them camped just north of Hairy Cap (east butte of the Little Rockies), and that night they killed a number of them and took more than three hundred of their horses. From that time on war parties of our Blackfoot tribes frequently raided the Entrails People, and they in turn sometimes raided our camps and horse herds but did us little harm. Not long after we fell out with them they made a peace smoke with the Crows, who were also our bitter enemies.

[623] [782] [796] Came the third summer of our hatred of the Entrails People (1866); Butterfly had died, and in his place, Many Horses became head chief of us Pikunis. The head chief of the Entrails People was Sitting Woman—a strange name for a man. Well, in the Green-Grass Moon of that summer, Many Horses counciled with our medicine men and foremost warriors, and they decided that we should make our great, every-summer offering to Sun[3] this time at Divided Mountains (Cypress Hills, Alberta).

648 721 Little did we think when we set out for the Divided Hills, in the Berries-Ripe Moon (July) of the summer, that we were there to have a great and successful fight with the Entrails People, and many of their new friends, the Crows. It was not until many winters later, when the white soldiers made us cease fighting one another, that we made peace with those tribes and got their account of the fight.

[103] Arrived at the Divided Hills, we made camp along the edge of a large grove on Seven Persons Creek (Maple Creek), so named because, long before then, a war party of our tribe had killed seven Liars (Crees) there. Well, a war party of Entrails People saw us traveling toward the Divided Hills and hurried back to their camp and told of it.

Then said their chief, Sitting Woman: "The Pikunis love that part of their country. Without doubt they are going there now to build

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[787] [3] The early fur traders named this annual, days-long, sacred ceremony of the Blackfoot tribes "Medicine Lodge; Sun's Lodge." The Blackfoot name for it is *Okan* ("His Vision"). It is their belief that their dreams, to them visions, are their actual experiences as they sleep.

A,[i.e., the Gros Ventres--Analyst]

000 cried: "Oh, my son. You should not have done this. So dangerous are real-bears; it might have killed you." "I had to kill it or be killed," I answered, and told all about it and of my Sun vow.

Said my mother when I had finished: "Never was a real-bear better tanned than this one will be, for you to sacrifice to Sun."

221 In the Berries Ripe Moon (July) as agreed upon, all the bands of
796 our tribe gathered at Four Persons' Butte (Milk-Teton River) for
our sacred-vow women to build, as they did every summer, a sacred
578 lodge for Sun. There with Mountain Chief's band was Owl Child,
whom we had not seen since he killed my father.

My mother, first to see him, came hurrying back into our lodge and said: "That dog-face, that bad Owl Child is across the circle. All dressed up and proudly walking around." And with that she cried; my almost-mothers and my almost-sisters cried; and I took up my many-shots gun and said that I would go and kill him. Mothers and sisters, they seized me; took my gun from me; said that I should not attempt it for I might be killed, I their only support, and then what would become of them?

"But when I grow up, I surely will put an end to him, my father's killer," I said, and meant it.

175 On that first day of our getting together to build the lodge for Sun, it was told all through our great camp that Owl Child had been struck and knocked down by Four Bears, a white man married to *Kahkokimah Ahki* (Cutting-off-Head Woman) of our tribe, and that Owl Child was now saying that he would soon go back up to Wolf-Also-Jumped Creek to kill the man. Four Bears had made love to his (Owl Child's) wife, tried to get her to leave him; then had beaten him when he was unarmed. For that, Four Bears must die.

Four Bears (Malcolm Clark) had been a West Point cadet. Dismissed from the Academy for gross infractions of its rules, he had entered the service of the American Fur Company on the Upper Missouri River, remaining with it until it went out of business in 1864. He had then taken to ranching on Wolf Creek, near where the Fort Benton–Helena wagon road crossed the stream. He is said to have been a man of violent temper and ruthless disposition.

796 My mother was one of the sacred-vow women who built the great
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bers of the tribe, the full bloods. In the first weeks 657
of his administration, he visited every family on 433
the reservation, making notes of specific needs 241
and the family's resources. Over the next few 179
months he developed a program to encourage full
bloods, and any mixed blood who would join
him, to begin utilizing the allotments. His idea
was to break the psychological depression that
gripped the reservation and encourage full bloods
to begin some modest efforts in farming. Campbell
never said what he thought the result of his
program was to be, but in design its success meant
developing a series of subsistence farm communities.
He further instilled a sense of pride in the 657
full bloods by acquiescing in their desire to gather 796
for summer ceremonials. He compromised with 182
the full bloods and gained their agreement to
move the Sun Dance to a part of the summer 241
when it did not interfere with necessary farm
work. His sensitivity to the Blackfeet's deeply felt
need to maintain continuity with their past
through practice of traditional ceremonials
quickly endeared him to the full blood community.
It also presented a significant challenge to 159
Robert Hamilton and the business committee, 657
which for all practical purposes by 1920 acted as 185
the tribal council. Hamilton had worked, for the
preceding decade, to create a sense of community
on the reservation, with the business committee
as the forum where individual differences could
be compromised into tribal positions. Campbell's
success, while laudable in the short run, endangered
that development and appeared a step back
toward reliance on the federal government (NA,
1921a, 1922a).

The conflict that developed between these two
strong-willed individuals was probably inevitable.
Hamilton's opposition to Campbell's plan,
however, was not based entirely on competition
for leadership, but a genuine concern for the
future of the reservation. Campbell's program, if 159
generally employed on the reservation, would 657
have had the effect of perpetually isolating the 433
local economy from the general agricultural economy 179
of the region. He was not interested in
developing commercial agriculture, but expended
his energies on establishing diversified agriculture

[p.68-A]

30: Kehoe E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Cree NG4

THE GIVEAWAY CEREMONY OF BLACKFOOT AND PLAINS CREE

by
Alice B. Kehoe

ABSTRACT

The modern giveaway of the Blackfoot and Plains Cree is described and analyzed. It is a twentieth-century development of formal ritual from a more diffuse nineteenth-century social bonding practice. Today it serves to announce Indian ethnic affiliation, social networks, and status ranking.

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Giveaways are a frequent component of Northern Plains Indian group activities today. Ostensibly they are held to honor persons in a traditional indigenous manner. Upon examination, the modern Northern Plains giveaway appears to be a twentieth-century transformation of a traditional value code, used to place individuals in the politico-economic alignments available in the segment of American society including Plains Indian reservations. Its roots are in the nineteenth century, its flowering a response to forces affecting Indians now.

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Description

The occasion for a giveaway ("giving donations" in Plains Cree gatherings) is entrance into a new status by a person affiliated with an Indian group. The ritual is not a *rite de passage*, but the public announcement and validation of new status. Giveaways are increasingly common among a large number of Indian groups, but the description and analysis I present here are derived from fieldwork with Blackfoot and Plains Cree.

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The form of the Northern Plains Blackfoot or Plains Cree giveaway is simple. At a public

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[P.17-A]

gathering, almost always convened for an- B
other purpose such as powwow dancing, an C
announcement is made that a giveaway will 431
be held "for So-and-So." The family of the
honored person parades around the center of 534
the arena, using the standard Plains dance 776
step, while a Plains style honoring song (a recognized type) is drummed and sung. The honored person, if present, will parade in the front rank; if he or she is absent, ill or deceased, his photograph will be carried by someone in the front rank. When the honoring song is concluded, gifts piled into old quilts, bedspreads or cartons are carried into the center of the arena or a roped-off section at its side. The bulk of the gifts is blankets and other bedding. Assistants, often powwow officials, help the family distribute the gifts to individuals or categories of persons ("visitors from other tribes") determined in advance by the family. The giveaway usually fades to an end, the next activity of the gathering beginning as the last few gifts are taken.

Reasons for holding a giveaway range around the expectation that a change in an Indian's social position will be formally
communicated to the active members of his B
or her band. A child's first explicit participa- C
tion in ritual, including his first costumed
powwow dancing, is marked by a small give- [852]
away. Young people's moves into adult [884]
responsibilities — marriage, graduation from
school, or return from military service — call B
for giveaways by their families. Unusual C
achievements bringing increased prestige, [555]
such as winning awards or notable positions, [764]
will be recognized by giveaways. Finally, death is memorialized by giveaways.

[P. 17-8]

will be recognized by giveaways. Finally, 000
death is memorialized by giveaways.

Representative giveaways observed be- B
tween 1972 and 1975 in Montana, Alberta and C
Saskatchewan are described below: 101

I. Giveaway for the late S— A— (South B
Piegan, Blackfeet Reservation), a young 431
man known as an excellent Indian dancer. 554
The giveaway was held at the annual tri- 796 ●
bal powwow.

2:25 p.m. Honoring dance for the late S— A— announced by the master of ceremonies over the loudspeaker at the powwow arena.

2:35 The Young Grey Horse Society drum comes into the arena. (About half-a-dozen singer-drummers make up a "drum." This one is a group of Reservation youths trained by an older man in their community.) The announcer describes A— as a noted dancer. Mrs. A—, her two children, and the announcer's young daughter (a promising dancer) slowly circle the center of the arena while the Young Grey Horses sing an honoring song. Mrs. A— carries a man's fancy dance bustle and her son carries a framed color photo-
graph of A—. As the four begin a B
second circling of the arena, several [291]
girls wearing shawls (traditional [771]
women's finery for the Northern
Plains reservation) go into the arena and follow the family. When the second circling is finished, the paraders retire and other women bring out the gifts, piled into quilts.

2:45 The announcer asks visitors from other tribes to please stand so that gifts can be given to them. Two elderly men active in ceremonials and traditional affairs go about the arena distributing to individuals the blankets handed them by the women of the A— family. The men are instructed by these women who is to receive each gift.

2:50 The S— A— giveaway is completed.

II. Giveaway for a tribal councilman, W— B 769
B— (South Piegan, Blackfeet Reserva- 796
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[p.13-A]

tion), deceased the preceding winter. This giveaway immediately follows the preceding. 769 796 431

2:50 p.m. Honoring dance for W— B— is announced over the loudspeaker. At this time, a man, two youths, and four little boys, one of them the son of S— A—, are powwow dancing to the Young Grey Horses drum.

2:55 The Rocky Boy's (Chippewa-Cree Reservation, Montana) drum is called by the announcer. No one appears, so the Young Grey Horses resume. The same dancers continue, joined by older men in costume with feather bonnets.

2:57 The women of W— B—'s family come into the arena and line up on folding chairs set along one side of the ring. The women wear expensive buckskin costumes: Mrs. B— is manager of the reservation crafts guild. A photograph of W— B— in full costume is displayed in front of the women.

3:00 The Young Grey Horses begin another song. The same dancers continue and are joined by more youngsters and by a Euro-American announcer from the regional television station.

3:04 The Rocky Boy drum replaces the Young Grey Horses. W— B—'s daughters, accompanied by another woman in costume and a woman in a rayon dress, sedately join in the dance, circling the arena once and then sitting down.

3:10 The White Swan (Yakima, Washington) drum takes over. The same dancers, again including the B— women, continue.

3:15 The announcer asks the White Swan drum for a short war dance song for the grandson of J— L—. The little boy is powwow dancing for the first time. He wears a scaled-down man's fancy dance costume, and, with his grandfather holding his hand, leads his family procession around the arena. The announcer states that the L— 852 796

family has given nine dollars to the 796
White Swan drum (in honor of the 852
child's first formal dancing). 431

3:20 A drum from the Blood (Blackfoot,
Alberta) reserve. This dance honors 554
R— R—, and is sponsored by his 796
parents. An older man who frequently 431
acts as herald in the South Piegan ceremonies (and whose younger relative is the powwow announcer) carries a large colored photograph of R— R— as he slowly circles the arena with the R— family. Only one elderly woman is in Indian costume, although most women wear dancing shawls. At the second circling, two girls in costume join them.

3:26 The herald stops in front of the announcer's booth, holds up the portrait of R— R—, and orates in
Blackfoot. (Announcements are [191]
usually made in English and Blackfoot, jokes and comments in Blackfoot alone at the Blackfeet Reservation powwows. English is often used alone for announcements at the Canadian powwows we have attended.)

3:29 Piles of blankets and bed linens are 769
brought in, in quilts and large cartons, 796
for the W— B— giveaway.
The B— family, including Mrs. B— 431
in a wheelchair and her adult grandson wearing the late B—'s impressive buckskin costume and feather bonnet, remain on the sideline while the distribution is supervised by another woman who directs women and girls carrying the goods to recipients. The announcer mentions that N— A— gets a Hudson's Bay blanket (which is expensive) and a pair of moccasins. The name of another recipient is called out, and someone responds that his daughter is present [to take his gift to him]. No other names are called aloud.

3:40 The Blood drum sings a slow war dance. The younger B— women join the dance. There are more dancers now than earlier in the afternoon.

3:50 It is announced that Mary G— gives five dollars to C— C— in honor of Mary's grandson who is dancing for the first time. 776 852 431

3:51 The herald leads the procession honoring W— B—. He carries B—'s photograph, and is followed by Mrs. B— in her wheelchair, pushed by her grandson and another man, and following these, three drummers. The party circles twice, then the White Swan drum begins to sing while the three drummers in the procession cease but continue in the procession. Every so often, Mrs. B— gives a high-pitched whoop. 776 769 431

3:55 The distribution of gifts continues.

4:00 The herald, holding up blankets, announces in Blackfoot, and the powwow master of ceremonies repeats in English, that the names of recipients are marked on the blankets. The master of ceremonies states that he will not call out these names, but the herald does so in Blackfoot. Some recipients are given cash (bills) or shawls rather than blankets.

4:07 An elderly South Piegan man holds up the bill he has been given and shouts out the praises of B— in Blackfoot.

4:28 The W— B— giveaway officially ends. The powwow announcer mentions B—'s grandson, who is considered to be embarked upon a promising career in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and compares him to his grandfather, who served the tribe so long.

Postscript: Eleven days later, we interview Mrs. B— in her home. We were well acquainted when we lived on the Blackfeet Reservation during the 1950's. Mrs. B— apologizes for not having noticed us in the audience at the giveaway and insists that we take an inexpensive blanket in the room as our gift. Mrs. B— tells us that she and her daughters (there are no sons) spent several thousand dollars on [124] [123]

[p.19-B]

the gifts, which included a dozen Pendleton blankets and half-a-dozen Hudson's Bay blankets. She had kept a notebook list of persons who should receive gifts, particularly recording those friends and relatives who had come a distance to visit B— in his final illness. The grandson was to have been given B—'s Indian name as well as costume, but Mrs. B— forgot to arrange the name-giving ceremony and will have this at the next year's powwow. 796 769 431

III. Giveaway for Barbara Hoof (Blood Reserve, Alberta), chosen Miss Alberta Indian Princess; at Kainai (Blood) Indian Days annual powwow. 555 776 431

4:30 p.m. There has been dancing in the arena since 3:10, with Miss Hoof leading. "Now we're all ready for the special giveaway in honor of our Indian Princess. The family chose the Old Agency singers for this giveaway," declares the announcer. The Princess' grandmother, in full buckskin costume, and a man in full costume with feather bonnet go over to the Hoof family standing near the entrance to the arena.

4:35 The procession of the Princess and her family is led by the man in costume, who sings as he dances. After one circuit of the center of the arena, the Old Agency drum sings for the procession. The Hoof family looks happy and proud, the father triumphantly waving his hat from time to time as he dances.

4:45 The announcer, standing with his microphone next to the family in the arena, states that a horse will be given by L— T— to G— S— in honor of the Princess. The horse is at T—'s place, where S— should pick it up. It is announced that C— gives fifteen dollars in honor of the Princess: her father may give it to anyone he pleases. The family gives the Old Agency singers twenty-five dollars. Mrs. K— gives fifteen dollers to J— in honor of the Princess. Mr. Hoof's brother gives a registered Arabian horse to N— in honor of the Princess. Dorothy L— T— gives a horse to E— from Gleichen (the North Blackfoot Reserve). D— B— from Gleichen is given a horse by S—. The announcer calls out the names of those who are to come to get blankets from the pile at the family's feet.

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5:03 The announcer carries his microphone back to his booth, explaining that the remaining blankets and shawls will be taken by the family to the recipients. General powwow dancing resumes.

IV. Giveaway in honor of Andrew Swimmer, retiring member of the Battleford (Saskatchewan) Indian Days powwow committee. This powwow is not sponsored by a reserve band, but is run by a six-man committee drawing upon the several Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa (Saulteaux) reserves in the Battleford Agency district.

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2:15 p.m. Powwow dancing began in the arena at noon. Now the announcer gives a speech in Cree, then in English introduces the Battleford Indian Days Committee. He tells us that Mr. Swimmer, vice-president of the Committee, left the hospital to be at this powwow, the last for which he will have served on the Committee. Mr. Swimmer stands, on crutches, with the audience as Small Boy's singers (Small Boy's band is a nativistic group of Plains Cree in Alberta) perform an honoring song. The other members of the Committee, with their families, dance slowly three times around the arena. Two men in the procession wear beaded buckskin jackets and feather bonnets, the others have no or partial costumes.

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2:25 The Committee and their families line up below the announcer's booth. Six men, including the president of the Committee and a man

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girlhood. Gifts were presented to visiting friends and relatives and distributed at Grass Dances, she recalled, but the modern ceremonial form had not yet crystallized.

The chairman of the Blackfeet Tribal Council, a man a generation younger than Mrs. B— and her cousin but well informed on tradition, corroborated Mrs. B—. "No, giveaways don't go real far back," he said. "In the old days, people went to the lodge at which goods, not money, would be given away. It would not have been blankets so much in the old days, because they didn't have so many blankets, they really held on to them when they got a blanket." The chairman supported our impression that the number of giveaways has been increasing in recent years.

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The formal modern giveaway seems to have developed from the nineteenth-century and probably earlier, practice of distributing gifts to validate leadership roles. Wissler (1911:23) emphasized that "no Blackfoot can aspire to be looked upon as a head man unless he is able to entertain well . . . and make a practice of relieving the wants of his less fortunate band members. He who can meet all such demands soon acquires a place in the social life of the band . . . Great deeds in social and ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of a head man." Wissler added (*ibid.*), "This phase of their social life is very much alive, having survived not only the changes in economic conditions brought about by the reservation system but the direct opposition of its officers." Mrs. B— described a custom in her youth, "doorway singing," when small groups would serenade householders, who if ambitious could demonstrate fitness for leadership by generously rewarding the singers honoring them (v. Wissler 1913:460).

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Powwows today represent the reduction of a variety of nineteenth-century social gatherings to one or a few annual events planned by a regularly constituted committee, and often underwritten by a grant from the tribal or band council. The number of these scheduled powwows has increased with the increase in Indian population and the associated increase in reservation emigration and economic assimilation into the Euro-American regional or national (urban) structure. The powwow is modeled upon Euro-American

[p.22-B]

B event forms to accomodate the many participants who work under
C Euro-American patterns, but the content of powwows remains
796 strongly Native American (cf. Braroe 1975: 64-65, Corrigan 1970,
178 Dusenberry 1962: 128-135, Schneider 1979, Weist 1973). The
177 principal immediate forerunner of the powwow was the late nine-
431 teenth-century Grass Dance (Wissler 1913:451-456 for Blackfoot,
Mandelbaum 1940:280-282 for Plains Cree). Among the Blackfoot,
[575] "the first grass dance society [about 1880] used to throw away
women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it was thrown" (Wissler 1913:452). Today the giveaway is the insertion of honoring ritual into that segment of the powwow originally filled by the Grass Dance Society "throwing away," property" because today among the Blackfoot and Plains Cree each item given is directed to a single-out recipient.

B How can we best understand the modern giveaway? It is
C begging the question to assume it is Indian and therefore per-
121 sists among Indians. If we focus on the gifts themselves as
431 economic exchange, we are puzzled by the preponderance of blan-
kets when, as the tribal chairman implied, blankets are no longer a very special or seldom obtained possession. Giveaways siphon off thousands of dollars that might have been spent on family consumer goods, in place of which a surplus of blankets circulates on the reservations, some used by recipients as the manufacturers intended, but many kept in their plastic store protective wrappings to be redistributed at another giveaway. Neither can we focus on the spirit of exchange itself, as Mauss (1925) did, for the Northern Plains giveaway is not a mechanism of alliance between formally organized classes, clans, or similar categories. The giveaway seems most cogently explained as a communication channel in which a restricted code conveys information.

I believe the theoretical underpinnings of an analysis of the modern Blackfoot and Plains Cree giveaways can be found in semiotics. In this branch of cultural analysis, a code correlates elements of content with elements of an expression system by means

778 (To this point the account of the origin of the
575 Catchers Society bundle is by Mountain Chief.
115 The following was communicated by Split Ears.)

● 796 Before the opening ceremony begins, a blanket
778 is spread at the head of the lodge, beneath the
575 bundle, which is suspended from one of the tipi-
425 poles at the back of the lodge. On this blanket
[431] are placed four gifts, usually pieces of trade
cloth. A fire is made in front of the pipe-owner
and his wife, and the latter brings from it an
ember with tongs. The owner sits at the right
of the bundle, facing the opening of the tipi;
[824] his wife is seated at the left. The woman places
incense (sweet balsam) on the ember, and both
man and wife alternately hold their hands in the
smoke, after which they pass one hand over the
other, and rub their hands alternately on the
arms, head, and body. During this process the
incense song is sung, with the following words:

[539] *The man says the incense is powerful.*

Before the smoking ember four buffalo-chips
[237] were placed in a row, but now cow-dung is used
for this purpose.

After this the following song is sung four times:

[539] *The man says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful.*

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

This is followed by the following, sung four times:

The woman says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful.

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During the singing of the last song, the woman again holds her hands in the incense, blesses herself, and rises. She stands ready to take the bundle down, and after the last repetition of the song actually does so and holds it over the incense, four times making a feint as if to put the bundle down, and, after the fourth, actually placing it on the blanket and the gifts.

The following song is now sung four times:

The blanket, it is powerful. [539]

With each singing of this song the wrapper is partially removed, and after the fourth time the bundle is entirely uncovered. The wrapper here referred to is a red shawl, such as covers every important Blackfoot bundle.

The woman now again holds her hands in the incense four times, and while the following song is sung, she begins to unite the strings of the parflèche containing the buffalo-stones.

Woman says we are taking the buffalo; it is powerful. [539]

796 The woman takes the largest buffalo-stone
778 from the parflèche bag and hands it to her hus-
575 band, who prays to it. He then takes the pipe,
425 still in its wrapper, holds it first against his left,
[782] then against his right shoulder, blesses himself
with it, and puts it down again.

The woman now begins to untie the strings around the pipe wrapper, while the following song is sung:

[539] *Now you will see my pipe; it is powerful.*

After the covers are removed, the woman holds it four times over the incense and gives it to her husband, while singing:

[539] *I am giving you your pipe now; it is powerful.*

During this part of the transfer, the owner holds the incense stick and with it indicates the manner in which the pipe should be held by the new owners, changing it four times from one hand to the other. During this performance the following song is sung:

[539] *Old Man Above says he sees me; the earth is my medicine.*
Old Woman Above says she sees me; the earth is my medicine.

[782] The new owner of the pipe now prays to it,

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

after which he hands the pipe to his wife, who 796 ● 778
likewise prays to it. 575

The following song is now sung: 425

Old Man Above says my paint is medicine. [782] [539]

The transferrer now paints the new owner with [302]
red paint and charcoal—a circle of red around the face, two black dots on each temple, and a black streak over the nose; a black circle is painted round each wrist and reaching three or four inches up the arm. The painting is done after three hesitations, and while singing the following song:

I am giving you my paint; it is powerful. [539]

The new owner now removes his old clothing [291]
and the transferrer hands him a new suit, after again hesitating three times and while singing the following song:

My clothes are medicine. [539]

The new owner gives his old clothes to the transferrer and dons the new ones.

The following song is next sung:

The man says my top feathers, they are powerful. [539]

During this singing the transferrer ties to the [301]
new owner's hair the hair attachment which is

32: Wildschut E-5 (1923) 1928
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

776 wrapped in the pipe bundle, that is, the only part
778 of the bundle which was formerly taken out on
575 the warpath. The transferrer also ties the brace-
425 lets, to which the small buffalo-stone is attached,
[301] around the wrist of the new owner and of his
wife. (One of these bracelets is now missing.)

When this ceremony is ended the transferrer and his wife, and the new owner and his wife, rise and dance round the tipi, making four stops on the way. First comes the transferrer of the bundle, then the new owner, then the transferrer's wife, and lastly the wife of the new owner. During this dancing four wordless songs are sung.

The ceremony now completed, all present rise and dance, and the pipe is handed from one to another until it has been passed entirely around. During this dancing, in which the people do not move from their places, they sing the dance-songs, again without words. This closes the ceremony for that day.

The pipe is not bundled up after the ceremony.
On the first night the new owner and his wife
sleep on the right and the left side respectively
of the exposed bundle, and do not rise until the
former owner and his wife call the next morning
[824] before sunrise. As they enter the tipi they take a
[514] pinch of the sacred sweet balsam, chew it, and
spit lightly on the new owner and his wife and
their blankets, and help them to rise.

their blankets, and help them to rise. Again they 000
perform the entire ceremony, singing all the songs 796
belonging to the bundle in proper rotation, thus 778
teaching the new owner and his wife the cere- 575
mony. The previous owner then bundles up the 425
pipe.

During the second day the new owner is taught also the four wordless songs which belong to the Catchers Society bundle. The wife of the new owner is taught how to carry the bundle, which is placed on her back after the usual four movements.

Rattles are used while singing the buffalo- [534]
stone songs, and the dancing is accompanied with drums, but these instruments are borrowed for the purpose.

The tripod is used when moving camp, and 778
while taking down the tipi and setting it up again. [782]
Before bringing the pipe bundle into the tipi, incense always is made.

The pipe must never be placed on the ground, [276]
and when being smoked the bowl must rest on a [237]
special support wrapped with skin, which is a part of the bundle.

The Catchers Society pipe is sometimes taken 778
out during the Sun Dance ceremony, filled and 276
lighted, and smoke offered to the leading medi- [796]
cine-man, who in return prays for the pipe-owner [756]

775 Hills. Here all their ancestors are invisible to men, but pursuing about the same career they did in life. Their ghosts sometimes visit the living and talk to them in a whistling sound, which they hear in the sighing of the wind, the creaking of lodge poles and the rustling of leaves.

SUN DANCE

● 796 The principal religious ceremony is the sun dance.
346 About the last of August each band resorts to a suitable
[313] locality where poles can be obtained for building the lodge
[535] in which the dance takes place. The poles are cut from
twenty-five to thirty feet long and inclined together like
the poles of the ordinary lodge, the upper ends being secured
to a single upright pole standing in the center of the
the enclosed space and projecting some three or four feet
[824] above the rest. The exterior is then thatched with pine
or other evergreen boughs so as to exclude the sun, only
one opening being left, which serves as the entrance. The
lodge thus prepared is capable of holding from three to
796 four hundred persons. In the meantime, a feast is prepared,
comprising every variety of food that the resources
[684] of the band can command. Of this feast all partake for
three days, none being excluded therefrom but such women
796 as have been guilty of lewdness. While the feast is in
535 progress the dance goes on within the lodge, lasting without
intermission for three days and nights. The dancers
are some half dozen in number, all men selected from the
entire band and they are stripped naked, the entire body,
including the face being usually painted with white earth.
They stand looking upward at the center pole of the lodge
with a fixed gaze, blowing a short whistle held between
the teeth, the feet a little apart and immovable, while the
body is lifted up and down upon the knees accompanied
by a movement of the raised arms similar to the flapping
of a bird's wings, the elbows being bent at nearly a right
angle. During the entire period of the dance the performers
are allowed no nourishment but such as they can
extract from a pipe; they often faint from exhaustion,
when they are revived with cold water and again resume

796 their places in the dance. As may be supposed the dancers
535 are worn completely out by the close of the ceremony.
The movements of the dancers keep time with the beating
of a drum accompanied by a monotonous chant which a
group of old men seated nearby on the ground keep up continually.
[534] The drum used is of rawhide, stretched over a
[237] wooden hoop, similar in shape and somewhat larger than
a tambourine. It is beaten with a single stick, the pounding
end being wrapped with dressed skin or other suitable
material.

796 During the dance the warriors who have achieved success
555 in war during the previous year enter the lodge to
[782] count their *coups* and anyone desiring to make a sacrifice
to the sun does so by hanging his offering upon the pole.
Coup is the French word meaning *blow,* and has come to
be the accepted translation of the Blackfoot *nah-mach-kach,*
a word difficult to find an exact equivalent for but
being nearly "a trophy taken" (Major Culbertson's translation),
its root being *nah-mah,* a weapon or military arm.
The various exploits of war are denominated coups and
reflect honor upon their performers according to a certain
fixed scale of merit. To capture an enemy's arms is a
coup of the first class; to touch him alive, of the second;
to touch his dead body or secure his scalp, of the third;
to make a successful theft of an enemy's horses, of the
[431] fourth. Those who desire the privilege of recounting their
[537] coups must first present a horse to someone at the door
of the medicine lodge (an irrevocable gift), when he may
enter the lodge and in his turn relate his exploits, illustrating
them by gestures indicating the manner of their
performance.

The horse stealers, however, are not required to make
the gift of a horse at the door but bring with them a
bundle of sticks, and, casting one into a fire kept burning
in the lodge, say: "At such a time I stole so many horses
at such a place, from such enemies." Then casting in another
796 stick describes another occasion. Such are the ceremonies
[782] accompanying the sun dance, and when they are concluded
all hands break camp and move away, leaving the lodge

796 standing with the offerings to the sun attached to the [782] pole. These are designed to remain until they perish by the action of the elements, but frequently the medicine lodge is visited by prowling enemies, who despoil it of all its gifts. That they may occasionally disappear through other agencies would seem to be a fair conclusion from the following facts:

[177] The Piegan sun dance of the year 1832 was witnessed [175] by some of the white employees of the then recently established post of the American Fur Company, Fort McKenzie. 175 Among the other gifts sacrificed to the sun was one of 648 those rare freaks of nature—a white buffalo robe—so rare, [782] indeed, that probably they do not average more than one to [435] the million. They are, therefore, extremely valuable and the white spectators to the offering resolved in secret that this rare treasure should not be left to share the fate of its companion gifts. They bided their time till the ceremonies were at an end, and when the assemblage broke up departed like the rest, turning their faces toward the fort. They traveled slowly, however, and when night came were at no great distance from the lodge. Going into camp they waited until the night was sufficiently advanced to conceal their movements from any watchful eye, when they rapidly retraced their steps to the lodge. Regaining it they first carefully reconnoitered the ground and then entering carefully sought the suspended robes. The pole was loaded with the various gifts, but in vain the eager hands sought to clutch the coveted robe. It was gone! Someone had anticipated them, and, greatly crestfallen, the party returned to their camp and the next day continued their journey to the fort.

What had become of the robe? That is uncertain, but one thing is sure—it was never afterwards seen in the Blackfeet camps. But it would seem that Catlin supplies us with the means of arriving at a solution of the mystery. In that year he visited Fort Union, proceeding in the fall to the Mandan villages, where the present Fort Berthold [439] stands. He records in his book that while there word came that a party of Blackfeet Indians had arrived at Fort

535 promise between the old and the new. The pre-Lent dance, for example, is the last
177 dance for forty days, as the Bloods, who are predominantly Anglican (Episcopalian)
[785] and Roman Catholic, forego dancing during Lent. This is the first year of the pre-
[775] Lent dance and is another step in the adaptation of native ceremonies to modern customs.

575 Another sponsor of dances, as mentioned earlier, is the Horn Society. This totally
177 non-Christian religious group has also shown a compromise with the Church by spon-
[535] soring the annual Christmas Dance. A powerful society even today, the Horns play a
[776] vital role in the summer Sun Dance (*okan*) ceremonies, which are the basis of the native religion of the Bloods.

575 Members for the Horns are taken from the age-group societies and, originally, were
561 changed every four years. However, the period of membership in the Horns has lately varied from two to four years, depending upon the activity of the group. Membership in this society is decided upon in an alternating pattern similar to the dance sponsorships. For example, the Horn Society members were chosen from the Eagle society in 1951 and, upon the completion of their term, one of the odd-numbered societies will provide the new members.

[535] During the sponsorship of the Christmas dance, the Horns may also call upon the allies of their parent group for assistance. During the 1952 Christmas dance, the Horns, who were predominantly from the Eagles, were permitted to seek assistance from any of the even-numbered societies.

575 Thus, through this complex social organization, a keen and wholesome rivalry is
561 constantly being stimulated to produce the best dances. Some members are ordered to
535 provide food or soda pop; some decorate the hall and set the stage for the important
[578] night. Other members of the group, whether rich or poor, are solicited for gifts of cash or blankets to meet the heavy expenses of the evening.

[626] In speaking to a member of the Magpies shortly before the New Year's dance, it was learned that he had been ordered to bring fifty sandwiches and would be fined $10 by his society if he failed to comply.

The recognized leaders of the society sponsoring a dance usually divide the responsibilities as much as possible among their own group and then turn to their allies for
533 specialized assistance. The principal specialists needed for an Owl Dance are the
535 singers, a dance announcer, and the Chicken Dancers.

The singers both carry the tempo of the dance on the drum and accompany it with the traditional Owl Dance songs. Therefore, to make sure the music will be of the highest quality, the societies call upon certain members who are outstanding in singing for each dance sponsored by their allies. Such men as Percy Plainswoman, Harry Shade, and Alex Little Shield are typical examples of the singers who are most likely to be called upon whenever an allied society presents a dance.

So, too, with the dance announcer. This man is responsible for urging the people to dance and for announcing changes in the dancing routine. Both the even-numbered and odd-numbered societies have two or three elders who are particularly adept at announcing, and they are continually called upon to take part in the activities.

535 The Chicken Dancers are the men who provide the entertainment at the dance. After every Owl Dance, these gaily-clad performers strut onto the floor and imitate the intricate steps of a male prairie chicken vying for the favor of a hen. These dancers make use of sleigh bells, hoops, masks, feathers, and colorful clothing to put on an

36: Dempsey   H-4,5   (1952) 1956   NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

535 At the Horns' sponsored dance at Christmas, 1952, it was noticed that four women
548 chose to dance together as two couples within the recognized circle but in the opposite
direction to the general group. Upon inquiry, it was learned that these women were
mat-sah-keets, or prostitutes. Although their type of dancing had occurred at other
gatherings in the past, informants were not sure if it was a Blood custom, or merely the
painted ladies' method of flouting accepted Blood traditions.

535 A modern innovation in the Owl Dance occurs at the annual summer Sun Dance
177 ceremonies. On this religious occasion, Owl Dances are held almost every afternoon
and evening within an enclosed circle. It has become the custom to turn some of the
•796 dances into dedication ceremonies for prominent members of the reserve who have
[769] died during the past year.

535 A son or close relative of the deceased stands before the crowd with a large framed
picture of the honored person, while the announcer calls for donations to his memory.
769 The donations, ranging from one to twenty dollars, are given to the announcer, to-
431 gether with information as to which visitor is to receive them.

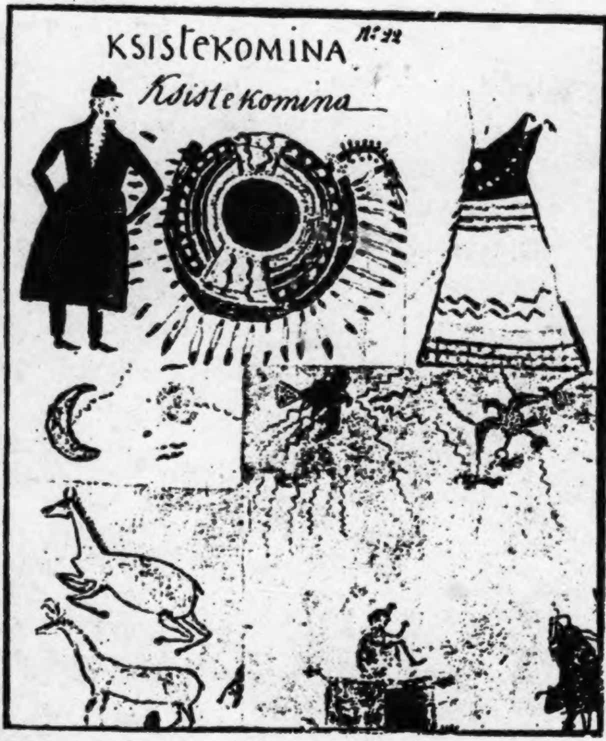
The money, usually in one dollar bills, is pinned to the edge of the picture frame, until the photograph of the honored Blood is wreathed in money. When the collection has been completed, the Owl Dance begins with the holder of the picture dancing or walking at the head of the line.

When the dance has ended, the announcer removes the money and calls out the name of the visitor to receive it. At the Sun Dance of 1952, for example, more than forty dollars were given to Joe Crowfoot, grandson of the former head chief of the Blackfoot, within a few minutes. Most of this amount was made up of one and five dollar donations from individual Bloods.

535 Throughout their ceremonies, the Bloods are continually adapting their old beliefs
177 and customs to the modern way of life, and the Owl Dance is typical of a ceremony
178 which will likely withstand the onslaught of modern music and dancing. It stands as
a prime example of the new and the old in the gradual assimilation of the plains
Indian into modern society.

Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

37: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6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797 not only equivalent to the native sweat lodge, but "that when they had received
177 baptism they can conquer any enemy whatsoever." Furthermore, they believed he could "cause the thunder to roll" when he was not satisfied. Apparently it was this last power, which they attributed to him, that won Father Point his Blackfoot name of "Thunder Chief."[2]

532 All of the other pictures on this plate refer to aspects of the Indians' traditional religious beliefs – beliefs they had held long before Father Point appeared among them.

532 The picture at the lower right contrasts most sharply with the Indians'
773 recognition of Father Point as the new Thunder Chief. It depicts the traditional
● [796] thunder ceremony of the Blackfoot – the medicine-pipe ceremony, performed
[778] each spring after the first thunder was heard. As early as 1809 the British fur trader, Alexander Henry, had observed, "Thunder is a man who was very wicked
[821] and troublesome to the Indians, killing men and beasts in great numbers. But
[175] many years ago he made peace with the Blackfeet, and gave them a pipestem in token of his friendship, since which period he has become harmless" (Henry 1897: II: 366). A well-known tribal myth, recorded by Clark Wissler and David Duvall (1908: 89-90) more than a half-century ago, tells of Thunder's gift of the medicine-pipe to the Blackfoot, along with instructions for the performance of the ceremony in his honor.

The two thunderbirds pictured at the top of this scene were believed to cause
793 thunder and lightning by the flapping of their huge wings. The perspective in the
532 lower portion of this scene is deceptive. Actually the medicine-pipe man is intended to be sitting in front of rather than on top of the dry-painting altar
[796] which was specially made for use during the ceremony. He wears the distinctive,
[292] club-like headdress of a Blackfoot medicine-pipe man. The German scientist,
[175] Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, while he was among the Blackfoot at Fort
[302] Mc Kenzie during the late summer of 1833 observed that the medicine men "divide [their hair] into several thick queues all around, and generally bind them altogether with a leather strap, in a thick knot over the forehead" (Thwaites 1904-1907: XXI: 99-100).

796 The altar for the Blackfoot medicine-pipe ceremony was of dry color upon
532 the ground in front of the pipe-owner, the leader in the ritual. One half was red
[237] (at left in the picture), and the other half black (at right). Four feather plumes – two red and two black – were placed upright at the corners of the altar. These characteristics of the altar for the medicine-pipe ceremony are correctly depicted in the artist's scene.

796 The medicine-pipe ceremony and that of the horse medicine cult among the
[123] Blackfoot were closely associated. On the night of March 29, 1943, I witnessed a horse medicine ceremony conducted by Wallace Night Gun, then leader of that
[178] cult on the Blackfeet Reservation. The altar prepared, used, and destroyed before the conclusion of that lengthy ceremony was like the one pictured by the unknown Indian artist in his representation of the medicine-pipe ceremony nearly a century earlier (Ewers 1955: 265-66, fig. 33). Wissler has described in

detail the complex and prolonged ritual of the Blackfoot medicine-pipe 796
ceremony, based upon his field investigations of more than sixty years ago (Wissler 1912: 136-165).

At the top center of this plate is pictured an elaborately painted shield. 532
Shields were the major defensive weapons of the Blackfoot. They were 714
commonly carried in large-scale battles, but were not carried by members of 778
small horse raiding parties against the enemy. They were sacred objects. Warriors
placed greater faith in the protective powers of the paintings on their front [237]
surfaces than in the thickness of the buffalo rawhide from which they were
made. These designs originally were given to Indians in dreams or visions by [787]
supernatural powers who took pity upon them. But the shields could be [425]
transferred later from one Indian to another.

Interestingly enough the shield depicted by that unnamed Blackfoot Indian [127]
artist in 1847 bears so close a resemblance to a shield preserved in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History in New York (Cat. No. 50-5760) that it seems probable the artist attempted to picture that same shield. The central figure of the standing buffalo is more realistically rendered on the specimen than in the drawing. But the flanking arcs – painted black with white dots – are very similar. Perhaps the early artist's rendering of this shield is not precisely accurate in every detail, or this specimen may be a remade or repainted version of the shield the artist pictured. Wissler stated that the museum specimen was obtained from a North Blackfoot "who had failed to learn the ritual after its
transfer to him." Wissler also reported that the Blackfoot believed this was one 773
of the three medicine shields referred to in their myth accounting for the origin 714
of shields. According to that myth, an Indian named Always Talking killed his 778
wife for infidelity. The buffalo revived her, and before sending her back to her remorseful husband, gave her her choice of any three shields owned by the buffalo. Wissler first pictured this shield in 1912 (Wissler 1912: 122, fig. 16; Wissler and Duvall 1908: 99-102). Since then it has been illustrated in numerous popular publications on the Plains Indians (see especially Lowie 1954: fig. 62).

The drawing at the upper right may be the earliest known colored illustration 532
of an identified Blackfoot painted tipi. In 1809 Alexander Henry observed that 342
the Blackfoot painted both birds and beasts "in a rude uncouth manner" on the [175]
covers of their tipis. He apparently did not recognize the religious significance of those paintings (Henry 1897: II: 527).

The unnamed Blackfoot artist portrayed to the best of his ability the snake-painted tipi. Undoubtedly, he pictured what he knew about this tipi rather than what he saw when viewing it from the south side. For there was but one snake painted on each side of the cover. He lets us know that there was a pair of snakes on this tipi by showing both on the same side, one above the other.

The snake-painted tipi was regarded by my Blackfoot informants as one of [773]
the oldest of the tipis of the tribe, because it was said to have been taken from the snakes by the mythological tribal hero, Blood Clot. Wissler and Duvall (1908: 53-58) recorded the Blood Clot myth. Wissler also learned that there

532 were snake-painted tipis among three of the four major divisions of the
342 Blackfoot – the South Piegan (in Montana), and the North Piegan and Blood (in
Canada), while the North Blackfoot had a Big Snake (rattlesnake) tipi. He also
described one of these tipis (Wissler 1912: 220-22, 337-38).

[123] Ninety-five years after the unnamed Blackfoot artist pictured a snake-painted
tipi, I saw one of them, then owned by Yellow Kidney and his wife, in the sun
dance encampment near Browning. The snakes' heads were painted red, and
their bodies were alternating blocks of red and green, zig-zagging around the tipi
cover against a white background – much as they are pictured by the Blackfoot
artist in 1847. The bottom portion of the tipi cover was also painted red with
white discs, and three horizontal red bands were painted at the top of the white
background of the central portion – as in the earlier artist's rendering. The
upper portion (representing the night sky) was painted black, although the small
discs within that area (representing stars) were green on the Yellow Kidney tipi,
[178] whereas they are white in the artist's version of the snake-painted tipi. It is
significant that the design of this painted tipi changed very little over a period of
a century, during which it must have been repainted many times on new lodge
covers of buffalo cow skin and more recently of white cloth, or canvas.

532 The crescent-shaped moon (in black) and circular sun (orange) appearing in
776 the left center of the artist's work must be intended to show that Sun and Moon
were major supernaturals recognized by the Blackfoot. In the tribal mythology
821 Moon is considered to be Sun's wife, and Morning Star was their son. This
[773] relationship is repeatedly referred to in such well-known Blackfoot myths as
[796] Scar Face, and The Fixed Star (or The Woman Who Married a Star) – myths
which account for the origin of the sun dance, and the symbolism of the sacred
[778] digging stick carried by the medicine woman in that most important tribal
religious ceremony (Wissler and Duvall 1908: 58-68). On some of the dry-painting
altars employed in Blackfoot ceremonies the moon is represented in
black paint as in the artist's drawing. But on the sun dance altar it is yellow, with
a narrow black center. It is always portrayed as a crescent (Wissler
1912: 254-57).

532 This leaves only the small panel at the bottom left of the plate to be
825 interpreted. Perhaps the artist chose to picture the pair of antelopes as a further
indication of the variety of sources of supernatural power known to the
[776] Blackfoot. The antelope might, of course, have been the artist's own
supernatural helper. The Blackfoot knew the antelope as the swiftest of the
larger mammals on the plains. Antelope power provided a war medicine.
[526] Contenders in the foot races between members of the different men's societies
[575] during the summer sun dance encampments also wanted antelope power to
enhance their swiftness afoot.

178 I was privileged to live among the Blackfoot Indians in Montana for three and
[123] one-half years (1941-1944) nearly a century after Father Point first brought the
teachings of Christianity to those Indians. Blackfoot life and culture had
[797] changed markedly during the intervening years. By the early 1940s less than 20%
[144]

of these Indians were full-bloods. A goodly number had more than one white 178
grandparent. These Indians, with few exceptions, had become Christians – the 797
great majority of them Roman Catholics. Even the oldest of the full-bloods who [144]
died during those years received Christian funerals at which a priest or minister
officiated in the services in the church and at the cemetery. I served as a [764]
pallbearer in several of those services. Yet I noticed that after the white [123]
clergyman formally entrusted the body to the earth, it was customary for an [782]
aged Indian to step forward and deliver a fervent prayer in his own language,
before the assembled mourners dispersed.

During those years no young men fasted and sought visions in isolated 178
localities. There were no painted shields among these Indians, who had not gone [785]
to war against enemy tribes for more than a half century. Yet more than a score [787]
of veterans of the intertribal wars, their wives, or widows, were still living. They [778]
formed the nucleus of that portion of the tribe who gathered each summer to [714]
participate in the sun dance. There were nearly a score of painted lodges in the [728]
sun dance encampment behind the museum near Browning in 1942. Owners of
medicine-pipe bundles still opened them in a ritual manner after the first [796]
thunder in spring; and the sacred horse medicine cult was still active. Older [773]
full-bloods still recited in fascinating detail the beautiful myths which told of the
origins of the medicine bundles and religious rituals of the Blackfoot. Nearly a
century after Father Point's pioneer Christian missionary endeavors among these
Indians, traditional Blackfoot religion, such as was interpreted by that unnamed
artist in 1847, was still very much alive.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Holt, Rinehart and Winston of New York and to Loyola University Press, Chicago, for permission to reprint this plate. 000
2. This letter, as quoted by Father De Smet, is not dated, Presumably it was written in 1847 (Smet 1905: III: 953-54).

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writer met two elderly full-bloods who had 101
been tortured in the sun dance of their 115
tribe. They were the last survivors of men
of that tribe who had experienced this
ordeal, and they were particularly desirous 115
that their torture experiences should be 124
recorded accurately. These narratives by 785
Scraping White (now 81 years old) and
Heavy Head (now 78), related to the writer 796
through the interpreter Percy Creighton,
provide new and significant information
on the procedure of self-torture in the
Blood sun dance ceremony and its meaning
to those who submitted to it. They help to [121]
round out the only published description
of the Blood self-torture, that of the missionary
John McLean, who witnessed the
ceremony prior to 1889.

In the summer of 1889 the Blood medicine 796
lodge was erected on the north bank of the 785
Kootenay River, in southern Alberta.
Three young men, Scraping White (then 23 years of age), Tough Bread (now deceased), and Heavy Head (then 20 years old), presented themselves to be tortured.

Scraping White described his experience thus:

> Three of us tortured ourselves in the sun dance that year—Tough Bread, Heavy Head, and I. I was the oldest of the three.
>
> I was on a war party to take horses from the 726
> Assiniboine when I made my vow to be tor-
> tured. Shortly before the sun went down, when 785
> we were in sight of the enemy camp, I turned
> to the sun and said, "I want good luck. Now I 796
> go to the enemy. I want to capture a good horse and go home safely. I'll be tortured this coming sun dance." As soon as it was dark I went into the enemy camp and took two fast horses out of their corral without any of them knowing it. I had good luck and reached home safely.
>
> Then I told my relatives of the vow I had 796
> made. Yellow Horn, an older relative, who had
> been through the torture before, told me, "Put 785
> up a sweat lodge for me and I shall look after you." I made the sweat lodge the very next day.
>
> Not long after that the sun dance was held. The torture took place the day after the center pole was raised for the medicine lodge. I was the first one to be tortured. The torture began about noon. Old Yellow Horn cut my breasts
> with an iron arrowhead and inserted a skewer
> through the cuts at each breast. These skewers [824]
> were of serviceberry wood, flattened on both

sides, thinned toward the ends but not sharpened, 796
and about this long. [Scraping White
indicated a distance of about 2 inches between 785
his thumb and forefinger.] Then sinew was
wrapped around the ends of the skewers and
they were tied, each skewer to a 4-strand
plaited rawhide rope. The two ropes were
fastened at their far ends to the center pole at
its forks.

I stood up and Yellow Horn told me, "Now 796
you walk up, put your arms around the center
pole and pray. Tell sun, now your vow is being 785
fulfilled." I did just as he told me. Then I 782
stepped back. Yellow Horn pulled hard on the
rawhide ropes attached to the skewers. Then I [535]
danced. I didn't dance long before my flesh
gave way and the skewers pulled out. Yellow
Horn came to me and cut the skin that had
broken. He trimmed it off even. Then he gave
me the pieces of skin he had cut away and told
me to take them and stick them in the ground
at the base of the center pole, saying, "Now
sun, I have completed my vow."

Heavy Head's narrative of his torture 785
experience was still more detailed:

There were only two of us, Buffalo Teeth,
my partner, and I. We went to war together to 726
take horses. At Medicine Hat we found a small 721
camp of Cree half-breeds. It was night when
we saw their camp. It was moonlight. I looked 785
up at the moon and prayed to it, "I shall be
tortured at the sun dance if I have good luck
and get home safely." Then I stole up to the
camp and got one bay that was tied in front of
a lodge without any of the enemy waking or
seeing me. Buffalo Teeth took a roan. We
started back to the Blood camp, traveled three
days and three nights with no food other than
a black rabbit. We got awfully weak and
hungry.

When I reached home I told my story to my 785
father, Water Bull. The old man got up and 554
sang his encouraging song. Then he told me,
"My son, you have done something worth [533]
doing. You have made a vow that you will be
tortured at the sun dance. You must do it this [796]
coming sun dance."

A few days later I went out to the east point
of Belly Butte to fast. While I fasted I dreamed 781
that a sacred person came to me and gave me a 752
drum and certain herbs to use for doctoring.
Then I returned home.

A short time after that the bands began to
come together for the sun dance encampment. 785
I prepared myself to go to an old man named 796
Little Bear, a relative of mine, who had been
through the torture himself, years before. I

filled my pipe and took it to him. I gave him the 796
pipe and a buckskin horse, and said, "Here is a
horse for you. Keep this pipe too. I want you to 785
look after me in the torture." When I gave him
the pipe he put it down and went over to the [431]
next lodge. There were two old men there, Green
Grass Bull and Red Bead. These men were not
related to me, but they were both older than
Little Bear, and both had been through the
torture. Little Bear asked them to come to his [782]
lodge, to take my pipe and pray for me. After
they prayed, they told me not to take any food 785
or water the day I was to be tortured.

The day before the torture I ate or drank 264
nothing. Next day I ate or drank nothing until
after the torture. However, the three old men
gave me some sagebrush to chew.

I was the last of the three Blood Indians to 785
undergo the torture that day. Scraping White,
who was the oldest, was first. Then Tough 796
Bread, then I. I was the youngest. Inside the
medicine lodge, on the west side of the center
pole and north of the weather dancer's arbor, a
shelter was built of sticks like a sweat lodge,
covered with willow leaves. I went in there before
noon of the day of the torture. I was laid on
my back with my head pointed north. I was [292]
barefoot, and wore only a breechcloth made
from a small, red, trade shawl purchased from
the Hudson's Bay Company. There was a little 785
bowl of white paint and another of black paint
nearby. The three old men painted four black 796
dots, one below the other, under each of my
eyes. This was called "tear paint." If I cried 302
the tears would run down there. Then they
painted a double row of six black dots on each
arm. They painted the symbol of the moon,
points up, on my forehead in black. On the outside
of each of my legs they painted a double
row of six black dots. The rest of my body was
painted white, also my face. They took some of 785
the broad-leafed sagebrush from the ground
inside the sweat lodge and bound it together, 796
placed a wreath of it around my head, and 824
bands of it around each wrist and ankle.

I was taken from the sweat lodge and laid
upon a blanket on the ground at the north side 785
of the center pole with my head to the north, 796
my feet toward the center pole. Other people
were told to keep back away from me. Then an
old man named Low Horn was brought forward.
He counted four of his coups. The three
old men, Little Bear, Red Bead, and Green
Grass Bull, held me—one at each arm, and one
at my head. Red Bead took a sharp, iron arrowhead
in his hand, and asked me, "How do
you want me to cut them? Thick or thin?" I
said, "Thin." (I learned later that this question

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168-B]

39: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1948
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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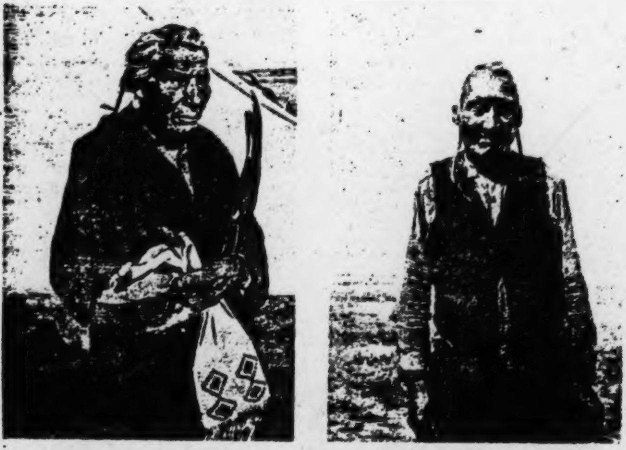

FIG. 1.—Scraping White (left) and Heavy Head (right), two men who were tortured in the Blood sun dance of 1889.

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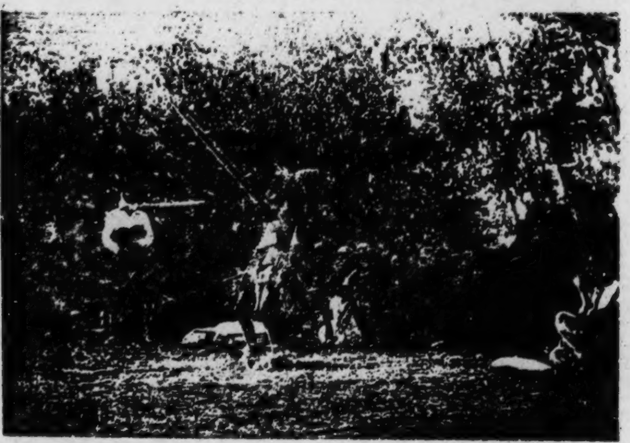

FIG. 2.—An act of self-torture in the Blood sun dance of 1891. Photograph by R. N. Wilson.

[p.169]

was always asked of the man undergoing the 785 torture before his breasts were pierced, and the 796 one doing the cutting always did just the opposite of the young man's request. So when I said "thin," Red Bead knew to make his incisions deep).[3] Red Bead gave four of his own war coups. He made no prayer. Then he pierced my breasts with the sharp arrowhead and inserted a serviceberry stick through each breast. The sticks were not sharp but flattened at the ends. The other two men held my arms as he cut and inserted the sticks. Blood flowed down my chest and legs over the white paint. Then Red Bead pressed the sticks against my body with his hands. They turned me around to face the sun and pierced my back. To the skewers 785 on my back they hung an imitation shield, not 796 so heavy as a war shield. The shield had feathers on it, but I don't remember how it was 714 painted. It belonged to a man named Peninsula.

The ropes were brought out from the center pole and tied to the skewers in my breasts— 785 right side first, then left side. Red Bead then grabbed the ropes and jerked them hard twice. 796 Then he told me, "Now you go to the center pole and pray that your vow will come true." [782] I walked up there. I knew I was supposed to pretend to cry. But oh! I really cried. It hurt so much. Coming back from the center pole I was shouting. Then, before I started to dance, I jerked the shield off my back.

I leaned back and began dancing, facing the center pole. It felt just like the center pole was pulling me toward it. I began to dance from the [535] west toward the doorway of the sun lodge and back. Then, when the skewers did not break loose, the old men realized that the incisions had been made too deep. Red Bead came up and cut the outside of the incisions again so they would break loose. As I started dancing again the left side gave way and I had to continue dancing with only my right side holding. An old man named Strangling Wolf jumped up from the crowd and came toward me shouting. He called out four coups he had counted and jumped on me. The last rope gave way and I fell to the ground.

The three old men came to me and cut the rough pieces of flesh hanging from my breasts off even. They told me to take this flesh that had been trimmed off, and the sagebrush from my head, wrists, and ankles, and place them at the base of the center pole. I did as they told me.

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[3] Jenness, pp. 54–5, reported the same contrariness of action on the part of the Sarcee surgeon when the suppliant pleaded for a "thin" cutting. [171]

Then I took my robe and walked out of the 785
medicine lodge alone. I went to a lonely place
and fasted for a night. I wanted to dream. But
I couldn't sleep at all because of the pain. At [782]
sunrise I prayed to the sun.

Some time after that I saw a man approaching
on horseback. He said, "I'm going to take 752
you home right away." He took me up behind
him on his horse and rode me slowly back to
camp. My breasts were swollen and hurt. The
rider's name was Red Crane. He told me of a [796] ●
mix-up that took place at the sun dance over
horses stolen from the Gros Ventres. [721]

When I got to my lodge, my mother gave me something to eat. She and my father told me what had happened at the sun dance gathering—a mix-up between the Mounted Police and Indians.[3] I had to stay in the lodge several days. My breasts were so swollen I could hardly move. Indian doctors used herb medicines to take the swelling away and cure my wounds.[4]

The common elements in these two accounts 785
reveal the pattern of the self-torture
experience among the Blood Indians more
clearly and completely than the brief description
of the ordeal previously published
by McLean. This experience was initiated 785
by a warrior through a vow to the celestial
deities, sun or moon (the latter in Blackfoot 726
belief was sun's wife), very shortly before 776
the man exposed himself to danger. The
vow was a simple, direct appeal to the 789
deity for protection and success in the immediate,
hazardous undertaking. In return
for such aid the petitioner promised to make 785
the self-torture sacrifice in the sun dance 796
lodge of his people. On return home after the successful exploit the pledger made known his vow to his relatives. They helped him to obtain the services of one or more older men who had been through the ordeal and were qualified, therefore, to instruct and care for the young man in the ceremonial fulfillment of his vow. The public cere-

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[3] In the summer of 1889, the Mounted Police [127]
sought to apprehend Calf Robe, a Blood horse
thief, who sought sanctuary in the medicine lodge
of his people. The Indians overpowered the police [652]
and set Calf Robe free, but there was no bloodshed (Steele, pp. 262-265). This incident serves to verify the year of Scraping White's and Heavy Head's torture.

[4] These narratives follow as closely as possible [128]
the words of the interpreter. In a few places details obtained during further questioning of the informants have been inserted.

mony took place in the sun-dance lodge, about midday of the day following the erection of the center pole. One man was tortured at a time. Each young man's experienced helper or helpers prepared him for the ordeal, pierced his breasts, inserted the wooden skewers, and attached the thongs leading from the crotch of the center pole. They guided his actions by telling him first to embrace the center pole and pray for successful fulfillment of his vow, watched him closely until he freed himself from the ropes, trimmed off the ragged edges of flesh from his breasts and instructed him to place them at the base of the center pole as an offering to the sun. With this act the vow was fulfilled. 785 796

Both informants stated that the helpers were always men well advanced in years, rather than men who had been through the torture only a few years earlier. The number of helpers depended primarily on the age of the victim and his relative's confidence in his ability to take the punishment. Younger men generally had more helpers to hold them as the incisions were made. Fasting was not considered obligatory. Scraping White said he was not required to abstain from food on the day prior to the torture. Scraping White's narrative omits mention of the painting of his body in preparation for the torture. However, Heavy Head asserted that all who underwent the torture were painted just as he had been.

Neither Scraping White nor Heavy Head took any active part in the tortures at the sun dance of 1891, the last occurrence of self-torture in the Blood ceremony. They said that four men, Calf Tail, Buckskin Tom, Old Man Owl, and Takes Paint, all now deceased, were tortured in that year. R. N. Wilson, a trader on the Blood Reserve, photographed these torture ceremonies. One of his photographs is reproduced here, through the courtesy of Archdeacon S. H. Middleton, principal of St. Paul's Residential School, on the Blood Reserve, owner of a print from the original glass plate negative. Percy Creighton believed that the Indian shown in the act of torture was Takes Paint. [127]

The Blood Indians were the last Blackfoot tribe, and probably the last tribe of 785 178

[P.171-A]

enne traditions, obtained from elderly men 185
of the Southern Cheyenne nearly half a
century ago by George Bird Grinnell and 177
George E. Hyde, tell of a group of Gros
Ventres and "Blackfeet" (division not in- 171
dicated), who joined the Cheyenne and 173
Arapaho in the Black Hills or on the Platte
about the year 1826. According to one version of this tradition the "Blackfeet" returned north a few years later (Grinnell, vol. 1, pp. 39–40). Major Culbertson, who was married to a Blood woman, is reported to have found ten lodges of Blood Indians living with the Arapaho, when he attended the Fort Laramie Treaty Council in 1851. "They were unknown to him, and he did not learn how long they had been there or whether they ever returned" (Bradley, Book A, p. 184). These data, and the fact that the Piegan were relatively indifferent to the torture in later years, suggest the possibility that the torture feature was introduced among the Blackfoot tribes by Blood Indians, who may have borrowed it from the Arapaho no earlier than the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Spier (p. 491) regarded the self-torture as 185
a nonessential element in the sun-dance
ceremony of most Plains tribes. Our evi- 196
dence certainly supports this conclusion in- 182
sofar as the Blood sun dance is concerned. Both the torture pledger and his helpers played no necessary part in the sun-dance ceremony. They entered the medicine lodge for the sole purpose of fulfilling the pledg-
er's vow. The Blackfoot tribes have con- 196
tinued their annual sun dances to the pres-
ent day, with no apparent sense of loss of 178
any essential feature. Now as formerly the sun dance centers about the elaborate ritual prescribed for the fulfillment of the vow of the medicine woman who pledged the ceremony. Her objective was reached with the completion of the medicine lodge, the day before the tortures took place.

The Blackfoot tribes regarded the tor- 185
ture, such as was endured by Scraping 304
White and Heavy Head, as the most dan-
gerous and severe form of physical sacrifice 152
to the sun. The mutilation of the body by offerings of a finger or bits of flesh from the arms and legs were considered lesser ordeals (Wissler, pp. 263–265). Scraping White

[p.172-A]

carefully removing little chips from the sur- 415
face with her metal-bladed skin scraping 322
tool. Some workers were satisfied to allow
the chipping to show in the finished bowl. 412
Others went over the interior with a sand-
rock to smooth the surface. The bark was
removed from the outside with a knife, and
that side also was chipped with the skin
scraper by some workers. After the bowl [237]
was permitted to dry out in the sun, the
entire surface was greased with animal
fat. Later the surface was polished to bring
out the grain of the wood. Bowls of ash were
preferred because of their beautiful grain
pattern. Smaller knots were made into cups.

Some wooden bowls are still used in 415
ceremonials, especially in the ritual of the
medicine pipe. However, these are generally [776] ●
bowls of White manufacture that have been [777]
turned on a lathe. A very rare, old cotton
wood bowl, made by an Indian, is shown in
figure 67. It is irregular in outline, about
three-eighths inches thick, eleven inches in
diameter and two and a half inches deep.
This bowl is part of a Blood medicine pipe [778]
bundle.

Making Horn Spoons

Cups, dishes, ladles and excellent spoons 321
were made by Blackfeet men and women [415]
from the horns of the buffalo or the big- [412]
horn sheep. David Thompson, the earliest [175]
trader to describe the Piegan, stated that
[224]

415
776

67. Wooden ceremonial bowl.

[P·59-A]

> his five fingers, with which he spun the web, upon which So-at-sa-ki was let down from the sky. Whenever you see half-buried and overgrown circles, or clusters of stones on the plains, marking the sites of Blackfeet camps in the ancient days, when they used stones to hold down the sides of their lodges, you will know why the half-circle of the stars was called by our fathers, "The lodge of the Spider Man." 821 342 773

In another place (McClintock, 1910, p. 492) Brings-Down-the-Sun, in discussing the origin of the Sun Dance, pointed out: 342

> We know not when the Sun-dance had its origin. It was long ago, when the Blackfeet used dogs for beasts of burden instead of horses; when they stretched the legs and bodies of their dogs on sticks to make them large, and when they used stones instead of wooden pegs to hold down their lodges.

During the years immediately preceding 1909, Clark Wissler recorded information on the material culture of the Blackfoot Indians. He notes (Wissler, 1910, p. 108):

> During the winter, or even at any time, the cover of the tipi was often held down by stones laid on its edges. Circles of such stones are to be seen in many parts of the Blackfoot country, marking the sites of former camps or burial tipis.

Wissler (1913, p. 430) takes the following from Duvall's notes on the construction of the Ma'toki dance structure made from lodge covers, with rocks to weight down the bottoms: 346 [575]

> The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for the sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended. [535] [776]

It has been noted that another neighbor of the Blackfoot, the Crow Indians to the south, used rocks to weigh down their lodge covers. During visits to the Crow Reservation during the period 1907–16, Lowie (1922, p. 224) obtained the following information concerning the practice: 342 171

> Bear-Crane stated that long ago rocks instead of pegs were used to weigh down the bottom of tipi covers; another informant restricts the practice to the winter season.

There are, perhaps, other documentary references to the topic that have escaped my attention, but those cited are numerous enough, it is believed, to indicate that the Blackfoot, Cree, Crow, Dakota, and probably other tribes in the northwestern Plains employed stones or occasionally sod as lodge-cover bottom weights. Our references cover the period from 1833 down to contemporary times, when stones are rarely seen, and the wooden tent peg appears to be ubiquitous.

were often so large that two fireplaces were needed inside, and the B
covers had to be split in two parts upon moving. 342

The Indians had heard that the earlier Blackfoot, when hunting B
buffalo, located their camps near the jumps but not so close as to 361
disturb the animals. Many times the camps were placed in the open, 221
on high places or hills, yet near water. One informant said that this was customary in order to observe the enemy, while another believed that it was to escape spring floods. In the winter, camps were located in the sheltered valley floors; it was in summer that they would be pitched on the flats above.

The informants all believed that the size and plan of the camp B
depended upon the annual subsistence cycle and the ceremonial [182]
observances during the summer. Small tipi rings in a camp of larger [776] ●
rings were probably the lodges of widows or elderly persons, or chil- [342]
dren's play tents.

There was a division of opinion among informants on whether or not the earlier members of their tribe returned to the same tipi rings in the process of migration during the annual subsistence cycle.

INFORMANTS OF OTHER TRIBES

In addition to elderly Blackfoot informants, members of other B
tribes were questioned when they came to Browning on visits or for 124
celebrations.

Dave Frenchman and Edward L. Martell, from the Cree Reserve B
(Moosemen Reserve), Saskatchewan, 22 miles north of North Battle- 342
ford, had been told by the old people of their tribe that the stones of 171
tipi rings were used to hold down the edges of lodge covers. Some- [115]
times there would be a large ring in the middle of the camp circle, and this would be the location of the chief's tipi, that is, of the best warrior and the leader of the tribe. These informants had never heard of a hearth in the center of a tipi ring.

Ethel Potter (age 50), an Arapaho from the Wind River Reserva- A
tion, Wyo., said that her father, Mike Goggles (age 74), had shown 342
her a place where rock rings were located, as they were traveling through the mountains, and had told her that they had been used by the people of his tribe to hold down the skin covers of lodges. She A
had not heard of these circles of stones in connection with ritualistic [764]
practices and knew nothing of "medicine wheels."A

(Sister M. Inez Hilger (1952, p. 93), in a study of Arapaho child life and the milieu in which these children lived, discovered that when signs of a hard winter or an approaching storm were noticed, "The old men would tell their wives to weight down the edges of the tipis

A, [For a definition of "medicine wheels", see p. 457--Analyst]

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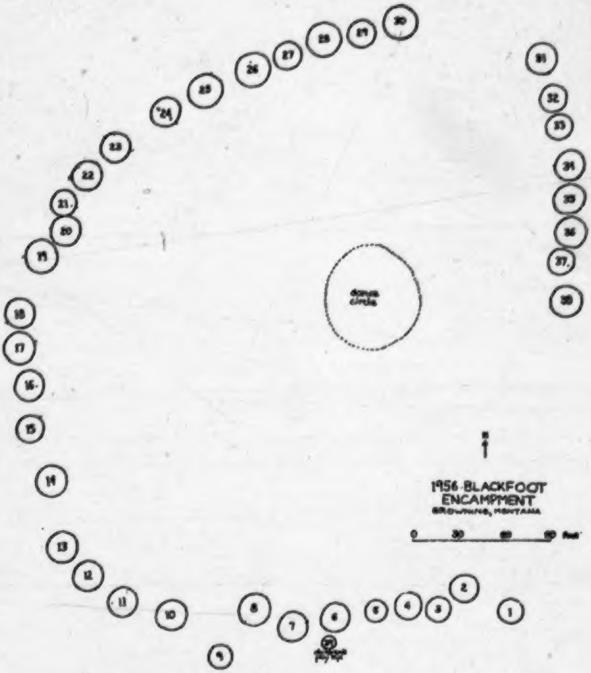
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dance circle
N
1956 BLACKFOOT
ENCAMPMENT
BROWNING, MONTANA
0 30 60 90 feet

Figure 37.—Camp plan, 1956 Blackfoot encampment, Browning, Mont.

of the most approved type" (Wissler 1910, p. 106). Questioning of Mrs. Williamson elicited this information: 342

> The rocks were used to hold down and push out the tipi liner similar to their use in the old days. Quite a few of the other campers were using them too but most of them were too lazy to gather rocks since they were not easily found at the Browning camp ground. Filled parfleches are often used to push out the inside liner.

Mrs. Nora Spanish, manager of the Blackfeet Arts and Crafts Association, revealed that:

> The North Blackfeet from Gleichen, Alberta, have discovered a new idea to peg the lining similar to the way the tipi cover is pegged to the ground, and loops are now being sewn on the tipi liner for that purpose. A woman from Gleichen told me this in 1955, but claimed that it is much harder to peg the inside liner than [176]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

533 niau. Otsóaists káχksiniχ´p, oχkǽtoaists mátsikaχksiniχ´p. Ki sáuotomoàiau. Stǽmisksinoaiau, ámokskàuki anníksisk kǽtaiautùyiks. Omíksi nánoiiksaiks stǽmoχtsiniauàiks. Kátaistùnnoyiuaiks A´kai-Pekàni. Nitúkskau itsinóaχpiau, mátatsinoàinoauaiks. Ǽnnika púχsapuχtsik ǽnni nitsíniχ´katsiau Nínaisaiài.

what had become of them]. After a very long time they were seen, they were only bodies, they flew [to the camp]. Their hands were cut off, their feet were also cut off. And they were scalped. Then they were known, [that] these were those, that did not come. Those, that had seen them, then died [from the sight]. That is why the ancient Peigans were afraid of them. Only once they were seen, they were never seen any more. Since that time they were all called Goose-chiefs [after the leader of the party].

The Sun-dance.

534
796 Ikæmítstsiχ`ki akókamàpi, ki omá akéu áukakiua ánnaie ákaniu: A`katsìmmoiiχ`kàu. Natósi ǽnnyaie ákatsìmmoiiχ`kàmiu. A`kanistsiuaie: Nåχksikǽmataχs nóma níksokoaiks. Nitákapistutæ̀ki òkáni. Kanáitapiua ákoχtoχkoisàpiu. Aumótutsisì, mí'nists sauumáitsisi, itámotutsiu. Itáumatapòtsim matsinísts, otsítsinokàpiχ´p. A´istæmitapaukùnaiiu. Otsítaksiepi einí, itáumatapòtsim matsinísts. A´istæmakaistùtsimaists mí'nists, áitsisi. Itápæsæpiu inókskuyi, máχkitòkaχp. A`kéks ikáiks nisoóyi ksistsikuísts itsáuaisimiau. O´matapaistoχkiχ´p ótsitaksipàpiksistsimàχp, áukònimaiau otsitákokaχpi. Ikæmípiχ´tsìsi einí áistæmaniχ`kataii matsoápsitsaχkì-

There may happen something important, and a wise woman will say: We shall pray. She will pray to the Sun. She will say to him: May my husband and my relations be saved. I will make a medicine-lodge. All the people will have something to look at. When they [the Peigans] gather for the circle-camp, when the berries are not yet ripe, then they camp in a circle. They begin to take the tongues, when there are happy times [i. e. when the buffalo are plentiful]. They are just camped about. When there are plenty of buffalo, then they begin to take the tongues. Then they gather lots of berries, when they are ripe. They look about for

naiks, máχkitauakimàniau, otokí máχkitsiitaksau, ákoχtatoksìpstaup. Kénnistsinie ákitaχtoχp. Aniχ´tsisáuåχs áiaksìsapitakìks, ákitonipàpiχ´ksiχ´p. Iχ´kanákàtsiks ákstaminiχ´kataiau, máχkotuiχ´tsiskatskàniau. A´komòipiotsèiau, síksikskuyi ákapsàtsimiau sokápii. Kénnimaie akoχtsikákiàkiau. Kepíppuyi okákiasòauaists.

Kénnimaie iχ´kunápiu, mákokàni. O´miks iχ´tsískaiks túkskaie ítsimàni akoχtsísoaiau matsinísts. Iχ´tauátsimoiiχ´kàiauaists. Kokúsi akiχ´tsíniχ´kotòaiau amóksim ikáiksim. A´kitànistau matápiua: Amáupit, itáiaksiniχ´kotòaiau ikáiks. A´umaχkainispàiχ´tsiu kokúyi. Ki apinákus áupakìau ki omím itákokaup. Itámitokèkau, ki itáunitsotsìu: Káχkitainikàkiχ´p kimánistàmi. Matóχketsimì áikàkiks tátsikikùnamàn. A´ikaitoχkanaitòsiu mí'ni

high forest, where to build the medicine-lodge. The women that make the medicine-lodge [of course, one woman every year] do not drink during four days. When they are getting near to the time to put up the central pole, they have found a place where to build the medicine-lodge. If the buffalo are far away, the fine young-married men are called on to chase the buffalo, that they skin them for the hides, which we use to tie the central lodge-pole with. And those [hides] will be put there in one place. Now those, that will cut the hides for ropes, that we may put up the central pole, come to the front. All the societies will be called on, that they go and get [the willows for] the sweat-lodges. They will have a meeting between themselves, they will look for good willows. From there [where the willows are good], they will cut them. They cut a hundred of them.

From that [moment] everything is getting ready for the medicine-lodge to be built. Those that make the sweat-lodges are given to eat one of the parfleches [full of] tongues. They pray with them [with the tongues]. In the night there will be sung to those that make the medicine-lodge [the „medicine-woman" and her husband]. The people will be told: Be quiet, there will be sung to those that make the medicine-lodge. The whole camp is quiet

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

599 796 ótakèsina. A´koχtauàpoχkatsìu ómoauaiks. Minokápis, iχ´pítsitsimaup áisoksistamiksòsakiau. O´takèsina itáumatapinimàu ómoauaiks otsitsoótasoauaiks. Itáiàksinausiau. Ánnistsiaie iχ´tauásaiskapiχ´taiau. Aiksistásaiskapiχ´tas, óki áksàipiaii ikáiks. Moyísts áistamikanaksipiχ´piau. Ánnimaie itáipstsipoχtòχp matsinísts. Itáutòiau àkéks mokákiks. Ánniksaie áuapòtsimiau. Ánniksaie áiχ´tsotakìau. Iχ´tauátsimoiiχ´kàiau Natósi. Autómåχtsisoyìauaie ómoauaiks, máχkitotoχsau nitápìpitàkèsin, máχksapis. Ksáχkum mátaiisoyìau, oksókoauaiks mátaiisoyìau. Stámiksuòiau. Ki áuanistàua kanáitapiua: Annáksistsipistsimàt mánistàmiks. Anníkskaie iχ´tápuiàχkiakiòp. Aiksistsípuiàχkiaχki, omístsi otokístsi ánnistsiaie iχ´táiisksìpistakiopi.

in the night. And in the morning they move camp to where the medicine-lodge is to be built. Then they camp, and then they begin to hurry each other: [Make haste] that you may cut your lodge-poles. Other persons [than those that cut the lodge-poles] are those that cut the central pole. The women have already made the soup of berries. They will carry [the soup] to their husbands. When there is plenty of food, we cut [the dried meat] with the heavy bull-back-fat. The women begin to catch for themselves the fine horses of their husbands. They [the women] dress up. With them [the fine horses and the fine clothes] they drag the small trees [for the medicine-lodge]. When they have dragged the small trees, then those that make the medicine-lodge will be taken out. Some lodges are all put in a row. There the tongues are brought. Then wise women will come there. They are the ones, [that] untie [the tongues]. They are the ones, [that] take [them]. They pray with them to the Sun. They first feed their husbands, that they might get to be real old women, [and] real old men. They also feed the earth, they also feed their relations. Then they stop. And all the people is told: Tie the lodge-poles for yourselves. With those we raise the central pole. When we have raised the central pole, we tie it with those

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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Autakúsi ákitsitsipimiaii iχ´k*a*n*á*kàtsiks. A´katanimàip*a*skaiau. Apinákus áiakitapiskàtsimaua A´χtsamoàkiχ´kiniua. *Á*nnaχkaie ákitapiskatsimàu. Omíksi nápiks ot*á*nnoàuaiks anáukotòkis k*é*nnyaie it*á*stòkimaiau. *Á*nniksaie áuatanimaip*a*skoχkìau. A´tsapìsi ki itauákaiksistapitsìnikii nínaiks it*á*staiau, áχkatoχkoiχ´tsìmaχsau. Mát*a*staiau, stsíki máχk*a*toχkoχkèmisau. *Á*kaukàpiapìau. Itomátapaipstsìpoχtoχpiau aúusists. Mí'niãusiniàu, òsákiau, st*á*miksòsakiau, *á*nnistsiaie áisiauaiks. A´poχk*a*taiãu. *Á*nnyenãχkanistsksinìχ´p, ap*a*tóχtsik nitáukau. Annóχk áist*a*mikakoχtàukau kanáiapiapìi. Omá áitapiskatsimàu áisapoχtomoàu. Ikítst*a*ksists *á*nni óχkotauaists. Itã´χpiskinakiu. *Á*nni nanistútsistapìtsiχ´p òkáni.

hides [i. e. with ropes of those hides].

In the evening all the societies will enter [the medicine-lodge]. They will have a dance with a hole [in the ground]. In the morning Little-crooked-horn will be the Sun-dancer. That is he, that will be the Sun-dancer. The old men with their daughters beat the drum on half a hide. They are the ones, [that] give the dance with a hole [in the ground]. When they are old and crazy, and when they tell lots of false coups, the chiefs think, that they [the people] will praise them. They think also, that they will get another wife. They are bad old men. Then they begin to bring in the soups. Berry-soups, back-fat(s), bull-back-fat(s), those are the things they cook. They are carried to them [to the societies]. That is what I know about, how we used to have the medicine-lodge in the olden times. Now we only have our medicine-lodges with all things got from the whites. The Sun-dancer is given a pipe. The sacrifices are given to him. He then paints the faces [of the people]. That is the way I understand the medicine-lodge.

[Cf. Grinnell blt 263 sqq., Mc Clintock ont 192 sqq.]

53: Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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18. Omí itásksinimatsistoχkiòpi nitsítaikoăn. Nimátsitaikaχtspinan ponokå'mitåχsistsìks. Nitsítaisketsimàiau. Kepúi nitsíkoputo itómanistsàpiksistakìua, kénnaie amótsàkiu. Ikæmítsapapiksistasi omí åχsistsíni, áisitokstakiu. Ki ikæmítapapitåχpiisi, túkskæma niuókskai iχ'táukstakiop. Ki áipusi áitsikopùtosi, ki itáumotsakiop.

18. [Horse-shoes.] [When I was] at school, I played. We played a game with horse-shoes. I beat them [the other fellows]. The first one that counts up to eleven, that is the one that wins the game. If he throws the horse-shoe into the stake, it counts five. And if it leans against the stake, we count one [horse-shoe] three. And when [we have] eleven, then we win the game.

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19. Nitániko A'pssùyi. Nisótæmoχtsinapò, nisótæmoχtsoau åχké. Nisótæmitoto nokúnan. Nisótæmapàsæmau ponokå'mitaiks. Nisotæminau nótàs, nitsitaiáketoau, nitsítæmiàupatau, ki nitaiáksekakì. Nitsítomatomàχk, ki itæskokskàsin okós. Nitsítsisauàket, nitsítoχkomatàu, nitsítaukskasatsau. Ki nitsiksístoχkotau naχkaié akéu annístskaie káiisau. Nisótæmamitomaχk. Nitsítaistsipisau nótàsi, ki nitsítsekak, ki itsekániχ'kuyìu nokítsis. Nisótæmamitskoau. Nisótæmitòto nitopíχ'kanokoa, ki itsítstakiua pistáχkan nokítsis. Istsísksipisiauaie. Nisótæmæsistsimau nokítsisau.

19. [Kicked by a mare.] I am called White-whiskers. I went down, I then went through the water. I went to our ranch. I was looking for the horses. Then I caught my horse [a mare], I saddled her, I got on her, and she was trying to kick me. I then started, and her colt ran back. I got on the other horse, I started to drive her [the mare I rode first], I started to chase her. And I gave some dried meat to a certain woman [literally: to a woman, that there was]. Then I went up. I started to whip my horse [the mare], and she kicked me, and she kicked my finger hitting it exactly. I drove her up. Then I came to my tent, and he [my step-father] put tobacco on my finger. They tied it up. I then washed my finger.

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[752]

20. Itauátsimoiχ'kàupi. Aitsipísau, áistæmåχkanaupistoksisanòpiau ki itáiksinoχsìau. Itáumatapatsìmoiχ'kaiau. Ki itáipim omák natoápiapìkoăn, ki itau-

20. Church. When they enter, they all kneel down and make the sign of the cross. They begin to pray. And then the priest enters, and he begins to pray.

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átsimoiχ´kau. Itå´χkanaupiau. Ki itáumatapisistsìpsatsiuàiks. Ki aiksistsépuyis, matsitaniópistokisanòpiu, ki itáiniχ´kiu, ki akékoaiks ki saχkúmapiks itå´χkanàiniχ´kiau. Ki itáutopiu, ki aiksistsíniχ´kisau pokáiks, mátsitàipuau, ki omíksi saχkúmapiks otå´χpokatsìmoiχ´kamàiks itáipuauiau, itáutsimaiks omístsi otáisimatòχpists, ki áistamatsksipoχtòmiauaists, ki itáupistokisanòpiau. Ki áipistsiksisamòs itáipuyin omá auatsímoiχ´kàua. Túkskama omíksi saχkúmapiks itáisaitsikapiksistakìua, ki omíksim matápiks auatsímoiχ´kaiks, itå´χkanaupistoksisanòpiau, itáutåχsokiakìau. Mátsitaistaisaitsikapiksistakiau. A´isitoyi osáitsikapiksistakisauaie, ki itå´χkanaipåˋχkyakiau. Matsitáipuyiu omá natoápiapìkoan. Aiksistátsimoiχ´kàs, omíksi saχkúmapiks mátsitaistauotsìmiau omístsi otáisimatåχpistsiai, ki átsitstosauàists. Mátsitaiskopistoksisauopiiau, ki mátsitaistaisaitsìkapiksistakiau. Aiksístsaitsikapiksistakisau, itå´χkanaupiiau, ki itáinisauo omá natoápiapìkoan. Itáisautsim omístsi omåχtauátsìmoiχ´kaχpists, ki noχkétsii itáiaksaipskåˋχsatom. Mátsitaiskò, áistamatsitamisò omí otsítauatsimoiχ´kàχpi, ki akékoaiks ki saχkúmapiks matsitáiniχ´kiau, ki túkskama omíksi saχkúmapiks auáuàpiksim omí ómåχtauamatosimaχpi. A´istamipuau, itsitáisapiχ´takiuaie, áistamåχtamisò, itánnaipiksistsìu omí omåχtauátsìmoiχ´kaχpi,

They all sit down. And he begins to preach to them. And when he has done preaching, he kneels down again, and he sings, and the girls and the boys all sing. And he goes to sit down, and when the children have done singing, he gets up again, and the boys that serve at the altar get up, they take [the wine and water], that he drinks, and they bring them back, and they kneel down. And after a short while the priest preaches. One of the boys rings the bell, and the people are praying, they all kneel down, they bow their heads down. They ring the bell again. When they have rung the bell five times, then the people put their heads up. The priest preaches again. When he has done praying, the boys take again [the wine and water], that he drinks, and they put them away again. They go back and kneel down again. And they ring the bell again. When they have done ringing, they all sit down, and the priest comes down. He takes off the clothes, he uses while praying, and he puts on different [clothes]. He goes back again, he goes back up to the altar, and the girls and the boys sing again, and one of the boys is swinging the censer. He [the priest] gets up, he puts something in [the censer], then he goes up again, he takes down the Blessed Sacrament, he turns with it to the people, they bow iχ́pitáutakàuaie ótapìsina, mátsitā̈χkanàutoχsauχkyakiàu. A'tsistaisaitsikapiksistakìsau, itápāχkiakìau, mátsitainiχ́kìau, ki aiksistsíniχ́kìsau, itáisaksiu omá auatsímoiχ́kau. Matápiks itā́χkænaisaksìau.

their heads down again. When they have rung the bell again, they put their heads up, they sing again, and when they have done singing, the priest goes out. The people then all go out.

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[p. 246 is blank]

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Here on the ranch, in addition to the fact that the Chief has de- 178
veloped a passion for Juicy Fruit gum and chews five sticks at a
time, I would list as our major changes: the refrigerator which has
replaced the pantry, and the electric percolator which has put the
old granite coffee pot out of business excepting on days such as today
when the power lines are down. (Brother Jim being brother Jim,
we do not have an ordinary percolator but a huge thing that makes
35 cups at a throw and stands so high on the cupboard that you
can't get the doors open.) Brother Jim, like the Montana weather, is
one of those things that will never change because they are com-
pletely unpredictable to begin with. It is June, but since last night 132
a mountain blizzard has been whistling snow against the west side 354
of the house, and as Jim came in this morning with an armload of
fuel for the woodstove (which is still our source of heat around
here) he said, "Goddam, I had enough of this goddam windy!"

Both Jim and the Chief have gone into town to prepare for the 575
Crazy Dog dance which will begin at Mrs. Big Spring's house at 796
about 1100. I will take my Crazy Dog rattle and drive in to join 178
them, and I know that at the dance I will be impressed by the one
change among the Blackfoots that really touches me. So many of the 000
old people are gone now: Chewing Black Bones, Dan Bull Plume,
Juniper Old Person, Jim White Grass, Cecile Last Star, Fish Wolf-
robe—so very many others. I miss them, and it is to their memory,
as well as to the Chief, that this book is dedicated.

RICHARD LANCASTER

White Calf Ranch
Blackfoot Indian Reservation,
Montana
June 4, 1966

[p. 8 is blank]

122 never know. Ordinarily, I should have passed such an encounter
732 without undue personal involvement, but fatigue, uncertainty with
regard to the whereabouts of Jim and the Chief, and the distressing
emotional iotacism which at times plagues even the best of us, conspired
to evoke within my personal self an almost articulate resentment
that my unannounced return to the Reservation had not been
rewarded with a panorama somewhat more inspiring.

122 By the time I had turned off the ignition and gotten out of the
station wagon, I found myself being converged upon by two Indian
123 men, each from his separate abode—and neither, I soon learned,
destined to elevate my currently subterranean morale. One man was
quite young and effusively, almost obsequiously, eager to please,
and from him I learned that the Chief is very much alive indeed and
that he and Jim are over in Canada, at Gleichen, attending a Blackfoot
Sun Dance (Medicine Lodge). Damn, but I wish I were with
● 796 them! The Sun Dance is the very focus of Blackfoot religious ritual,
178 and it is becoming an increasingly rare episode in Indian life. Only
the very old Indians know how properly to sponsor and conduct the
[793] ceremony, and since the Holy Woman (an Indian lady, always
above any moral reproach, who makes the formal vow to the Sun)
[785] and all the other principals must undergo a fast of four days, those
persons who are both qualified and physically able to participate in
the Sun Dance are very few indeed.

There has not been a Blackfoot Sun Dance here in the States for
several years, and I doubt seriously that there will ever again be
one. The so-called Sun Dances held by Plains Tribes other than the
Blackfoots are ersatz gestures at best and are significantly performed
796 during the height of the tourist season. These ceremonies are in the
same category as the "adoption" ceremonies—innumerable Whites
178 believe that they have been "adopted" by one Indian tribe or another—which
597 are not adoption ceremonies at all but merely name-giving
[553] ceremonies (one of which, thanks to the publicity-conscious
Great Northern Railway, can be purchased from even the Blackfoots
for fifty bucks). A true Blackfoot adoption ceremony involves
a ritual of four days duration, and it is a very serious and a rather
strenuous procedure for all parties involved. One does not properly
become adopted into the Blackfoot *tribe;* one becomes an adopted
member of a Blackfoot *family,* with all the privileges and responsibilities
attaining to true family membership. Very, very few persons
of White blood have ever been awarded this honor.

177 The Blackfoots were the last of the Western tribes to have intercourse
with the White Man, and they never had any more to do with

794 797 [796] With no disrespect intended toward anyone, I could not help smiling at this formal proclamation of the Chief's conversion. In the first place, this is at least the second time that the Chief has been officially accepted as a Roman Catholic; in the second place, the Chief is a Methodist in good standing and is an honorary steward of the Browning Methodist Church; and in the third place, the Chief is at this very minute participating in a Sun Dance, the most important of all *Blackfoot* religious ceremonies. So I am afraid that I shall have to view this documentary evidence of the Chief's new religious status in a common light with the figure-painted chunk of animal hide which is given (sold, rather, unless you happen to be a big-shot politician) to Whites as official documentation of their "adoption" by the Blackfoot Indian Tribe.

794 797 771 The Chief believes (as do I) that worship of the Almighty should bring people closer together, not drive them further apart. The Chief will participate in Christian religious services in the same spirit of syncretism with which a tolerant Christian will attend an Indian Medicine Lodge, and it is important to be aware that this does not imply that there is anything in his religious attitude which suggests either hypocrisy or indulgence. The Chief does genuinely accept the Christian concept, but he does not feel it necessary to abandon his own traditional beliefs in order to do so. Membership in one religious body does not dissuade him from accepting membership amongst yet another denominational group—not any more than the fact of my already having a White father had any effect upon the Chief's adopting me as his own son. The Chief accepts the *New* as a complement to the *Old*, not as a replacement of it, and his religious philosophy thus derives from a blending—a concrescence, so to speak, and hence an enrichment—of the many separate ways in which man searches for a closer relationship both to God and to his fellowman.

175 797 Interestingly enough, the precursor of Christian missionary enterprise amongst the Blackfoots was himself an American Indian. Ignace Lamoose, an Iroquois who had attended the Jesuit Mission of Caughnawaga, near Montreal, Canada, was attempting to introduce the elements of Christianity among the Salish (Flatheads) as early as 1830. Old Ignace eventually was killed by the Sioux, but not before his efforts had paved the way for the founding among the Flatheads of the first Roman Catholic mission in the Great Northwest. The mission was inaugurated by the famous Father Jean Pierre DeSmet and two assistants, and according to Jesuit records it was at this mission, on Christmas Day, 1841, that the first Black-

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797 ing of horses and the eradication, whenever possible, of one's
[183] enemies.

At one point, though, there was no dearth of Blackfoots who earnestly desired to become accepted for baptism into the Roman Catholic Church. In the summer of 1846, Chief Victor and his Flatheads,
[101] aided by a dozen lodges of Small Robes (the Small Robes were a
[648] rather independent band of Piegans who were friendly toward the Flatheads) achieved a smashing victory over a superior force of Absaroka (Crow) Indians. And when the Flatheads attributed their remarkable success to the power and protection of the "Black Robes' God", this was all the Blackfoots needed to hear. Baptism by the Black Robes was obviously a guarantee of victory over your enemies, and the more bloodthirsty the Blackfoot warrior, the more ardent became his petition for baptism. But since this attitude did not reflect the concept of Christian thought which the good priests of the Church had been attempting to convey, Father Point (the Blackfoots called him "Tusks"), who headquartered on the Missouri River at the American Fur Company's post of Ft. Lewis, recorded that of the 651 Blackfoot Indians he was able in all good conscience to accept for baptism, 625 were children, 22 were women, and only four were grown men.

797 The foregoing notwithstanding, Roman Catholicism was always
796 more successful than Protestantism amongst the Blackfoots, and it is not difficult to suggest several reasons why this should have been so. Although the old-time Indians could in some measure reconcile the more abstractive philosophy of the Protestants with certain sciotheistic elements of their own religious inheritance, the more tangible paraphernalia associated with Roman Catholic ritual was much more impressive to them, and much more easily identified with aspects of their existing beliefs. During a Blackfoot Sun Dance or Medicine Lodge, buffalo tongue is cut into small pieces and distributed among certain participants; this gesture is in all respects strikingly similar to the Christian sacrament of the Eucharist. Also
[783] during the Medicine Lodge ceremony, Indian women will step forth and openly confess their sins, and this, of course, suggests the confessional both of the Roman Catholic Church and of the high order of the Episcopal Church. (It is important to realize that these Medicine Lodge ceremonies were not derived from the Christian religion but had their existence before the coming of the White Man.)

797 From the point of view of the Blackfoot fighting man, two aspects
551 of religious tradition possessed by the Roman Catholics were espe-
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122 [156] "That Phillip, he don't know what's, by goz!", produced some roots from the mysterious interior of the Chief's room, and cut the roots into small pieces and added them to a basin of hot water. Then the Indian girl bathed my ankle with a soaked cloth. The girl was pretty drunk, but her hands were unbelievably gentle. It was like being bathed by an angel.

That was four years ago, but it seems like yesterday. Today, before coming home from town, I bought a pane of glass to replace the one I broke, and Jim and I stopped at the local power company office to check on our light situation. They said they'd check the line, and by the time we got home (4:30), a maintenance crew was there to install a new transformer. So now we have lights. It is 5:45 now, and Jimmy just stuck his head out of the kitchen and said, "*Ah́k-so-yope*" (let's eat). "*Sey-kúhn-noz*" (I am hungry).

[262] For supper we had fried chicken, and potatoes cooked in beef broth. The Blackfoot word for broth is new to me, but I will have no difficulty in remembering it. The word is *kó-piss*, and brother Jim kindly suggested a most efficacious (if slightly scatological) Anglo-Saxon cognate (false cognate, of course). All I have to do is change the stress. For dessert we had canned cherries and *ah̀-siks-eh-kim-méh* (coffee).

[126] 122 796 After supper we celebrated the restoration of electrical service by doing some tape recording. The Chief and Jim are still pretty much under the spell of the Sun Dance which they recently attended, and from them I gained a great deal of information about the Sun Dance encampment in general and the Medicine Lodge in particular. The Sun Dance this year was sponsored by a Canadian Blackfoot named Wolf Child (Mach-ku-yáy-pu-kah), and the encampment included a large number of lodges.

796 785 [656] Among other things, I learned that although the thong torture was outlawed by the Whites around the turn of the century, it continued to be performed surreptitiously by the Blackfoots until at least as recently as the 1920's. The thong torture is a ceremony, once quite common among the Plains Tribes, in which a young man allows skewers to be passed through the skin of his chest and attached to the Sun Dance centerpole by rawhide ropes; then the man dances, leaning backward against the ropes until his flesh tears open, releasing the skewers. The thong torture has been interpreted by some as a sort of show-off demonstration of the participant's courage, but I have found no grounds for believing that this was the case among the Blackfoots. Certainly the ordeal required both courage

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Certainly the ordeal required both courage
796 and fortitude, but the Chief says, and he should know, that the
785 event represented the fulfilment of a vow which the participant
had made to the sun on the occasion of his requesting some special
[782] favor, such as protection in war or the recovery from illness of a loved one. Of special interest is the fact that if the skewers did not tear loose after a reasonable term of sincere effort by the dancer, it was the prerogative of any respected warrior to step forth, recite his war honors by way of qualification, and sever with a knife the strips of flesh which bound the dancer to the thongs; whereupon the severed flesh was given as an offering to the sun. Such a brutal religious gesture!—almost as nutty as having yourself lashed and wearing a hair shirt over the open wounds. Those who fast at the
[178] Sun Dance for four days take no refreshment except a small drink of water at sunrise and sunset, and since some of the old ladies and gentlemen are too frail to survive such an ordeal, it is now allowable for a surrogate faster to deny himself in their stead. There is nothing supposititious about this action; it is intended by the surrogate as a gesture of respect to the worthy old-timers and is done in the same spirit that the cutting of the flesh of the dancer formerly was conducted.

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178 The Chief mentioned something about the Indian teepee or lodge which came as a surprise to me but which I should have had sense enough to know without being told. The old buffalo hide teepees were much smaller than their modern canvas counterparts. Hide weighs much more than canvas, and even though the Blackfoots used the lighter summer hides of the buffalo, or even split the hide to reduce its bulk, a teepee constructed of more than six or eight hides was simply too heavy for the nomadic Blackfoots to con-
[492] veniently pack around. Some wealthy families, who had many horses and so could provide travois transportation for more worldly goods, had larger teepees, but these had to be divided into two or more parts because a single horse could not manage to pull the load.

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[619] The discussion moved on to the Blackfoot painted lodges, and here we really struck paydirt. Even in the old days there were only about four dozen painted lodges among all three tribes of the Blackfoot Confederacy, and the lodges were not painted helter-skelter or at the whim of the owner. The painted lodge was associated with a
[778] medicine bundle of some sort, and the designs painted on the lodges
[787] were either inspired by a vision that the owner had had or were
[432] purchased (the exclusive privilege of using the design, that is)
[424] from the previous owner. The Chief related the traditional origin of

122 I didn't say anything. I didn't say anything all the way back; I was afraid of what I might say.

Much later, after Paul had been deposited across the creek, I told my tale of woe to Jimmy. He said that I had gotten a typical dose of Paul—that Paul would try to borrow your butt if his was dirty.

Jimmy had baked two pies—a cherry and a blueberry—and we ate
the blueberry. The pie, accompanied by tea and sympathy spiked
with two shots of Jim Beam, brightened the evening considerably.
126 I was tired, but the Chief was in a story-telling mood and so we
did some recording until 11:30. The story the Chief told was a story
of his own personal experience. It was a marvelous story, filled with
pricelessly authentic detail, but it was also a very sad story, and
when the story was finished I realized with most profound embarrassment
that it had been I—me and my big, arrogant, White Man's
mouth—that had evoked within the Old Fellow's consciousness these
122 melancholy remembrances. Because of the Chief's cold, I had
bought him a bottle of vitamin C tablets. And when he was reluctant
123 tant to take them (Indians just don't like to take White Man's medicine)
I thought that I was pursuing a rather clever course of
proselytism by explaining to the Chief that ascorbic acid tablets are
the same as rose hips (roseberries, the Indians call them). But
what I really did was to put my moccasin in my mouth.

THE THUNDER LODGE

159 This happened not long ago, when I was living in a house I had built just below Starr School, at the juncture of North Cutbank Creek and South Cutbank Creek.

[I was able to establish the year as 1900, the year following
the Chief's Christian marriage to Kit Fox Woman. I also suc-
[128] ceeded in verifying, through elderly Indians who had been
present at the time, the absolute authenticity of every detail
of this story, including the unusual circumstances surrounding
the several deaths which are herein described.]

159 There was to be a Sun Dance on the Piegan Reservation that
year, and the Canadians—the Bloods, the North Blackfoots and
• 796 the North Piegans—had come down to join in the celebration.
346 But there was an argument about where the Medicine Lodge
[619] should be erected, and eventually two separate encampments
were set up, one on the flat east of Starr School and the other
down at Old Agency.

My father and I both set up our lodges at the Starr School 159
encampment, and Makes-Cold-Weather, a friend of mine 796
from the North Blackfoots, assisted Little Bear and myself in 346
hauling in the poles for the Medicine Lodge.

When the Medicine Lodge had been completed, Makes- 159
Cold-Weather asked me to go with him to the slaughter house 796
in Browning to get some meat. On the way we met a rider,
and Makes-Cold-Weather informed me that this lone rider was 756
a very powerful medicine man from Gleichen [the North Blackfoot Reserve]. He said, "This man was injured, and a steel plate was placed in the back of his head, and since that time he has had great power from the Thunder. He owns the Thun-
der Lodge, and he has painted many people." [One of the func- [302]
tions of a medicine man was to paint the faces of individuals [751]
in order to insure their good health and fortune. In return, the [777]
medicine man received a gift of either money or some object [431]
of value such as a blanket or some fine beaded work.]

When the Thunder Medicine Man drew even with us, he reined in his horse close to mine and looked into my face and said, "I have been looking for you for a long time." I did not know what he meant. I had never seen him before. But when he spoke to me a chill ran up my back and I felt very strange—sort of a mixture of fear and reverence. I did not know what to say, so I said nothing. Nor did the Medicine Man speak again; for a minute he continued to look deep into my face, as though he could see right through me, and then he rode on.

Upon returning to my lodge I learned that each separate encampment had decided to have its own Sun Dance, each with its own Holy Woman. Early the next morning, when I went to my father's lodge to invite him over for breakfast, I saw that the Thunder Medicine Man had erected the Thunder Lodge
on the far edge of our encampment. The Thunder Lodge is [346]
easily distinguishable because it is painted with the Thunder
Paint. [The Thunder Paint is blue paint; the Thunder Lodge [386]
is painted a solid blue, with no other decoration.]

After breakfast I accompanied my father back to his lodge, and as we sat talking we heard someone singing. Stepping outside the lodge, we saw that the Thunder Medicine Man had piled his goods [his fees for face painting] on top of a nearby hill; he was seated up there, singing medicine songs, and when he saw that my father and I were looking at him he stopped singing and told me with signs that he wished me to go up

159 there. I had a strange feeling about the man, but my father
796 said that I had better go up and see what he wanted, so I filled
756 a pipe with tobacco and climbed the hill. When I saw all the goods that were piled up there, I knew that the Thunder Medicine Man must indeed have painted many people.

I presented the pipe to the Thunder Medicine Man, and we smoked it together, and then the man spoke. He told me that it was not good that there should be more than one Medicine Lodge. He said that I should tell my father (he used the term, "our father") that he must use his influence as chief to convince the people that the Medicine Lodge at Old Agency should be taken down immediately and that all the people should come up and join in the Sun Dance at Starr School. I told him that he had better discuss such important matters directly with my father, and he agreed to accompany me down to my father's lodge.

In my father's lodge we smoked another pipe, and then the Thunder Medicine Man spoke to my father—but instead of addressing him as "father" he called him "mother." [I don't know why the Chief should have considered this point worthy of
[601] mention. The North Blackfoots address both father and mother with the same term, *na-áh*. The Piegan word for father is *nín-*
[197] *nah*, the term for mother being *nik-tsís-tah*, and although the Piegans sometimes use the North Blackfoot word, *na-áh*, in reference to mother, they never use it in reference to father.]
[793] He said, "Mother, you must tell the Holy Woman down at Old Agency that there must be only one Medicine Lodge and only one encampment, and that the Medicine Lodge must be over here." My father said that he would do this immediately, and he sent Yellow Wolf to Old Agency to tell the people to move their encampment and to tell the Holy Woman to have the Medicine Lodge taken down.

But the people would not listen to Yellow Wolf, so my father went in person to talk to them. When my father had left, the Thunder Medicine Man said something that nearly caused me to lose consciousness. First he filled a pipe and smoked it with
[787] me, and then he said, "I have seen Thunder [Thunder had appeared to him in a dream in human form] and he looks exactly like you. I have promised to sell the Thunder Lodge to Iron Pipe, and for two weeks I have waited for Iron Pipe to appear. I will wait for another two weeks, and if Iron Pipe has not come to claim the lodge, the Thunder Lodge shall be yours."

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Late in the evening of that same day there was a hard, brief 159
thunderstorm, with much lightning. [Anyone who has seen 796
lightning on the High Plains of Montana has no difficulty in 756
understanding why the Blackfoots regarded it as a supernatural [132]
expression; it is lightning totally different from any I have
seen elsewhere.] When it was over, the Thunder Medicine Man
came again to my father's lodge.

My father said, "I am sorry. I have done my best, but my [195]
arms are not long enough. ["My arms are not long enough,"
is the literal translation of a Blackfoot phrase which is intended
to suggest something like, "my influence is not broad enough,"
or, "my authority is not strong enough."] The people will not [793]
camp together, and the Holy Woman will not allow the lodge
to be moved."

The Thunder Medicine Man said, "I am sorry to hear this. The Medicine Lodge is not in a good place. Thunder is not happy with the way the people are conducting themselves. Misfortune will come to them."

At that time there were several Piegan children attending the 159
Indian school down at Fort Shaw. Among them were my wife's 484
younger brother, one of Yellow Wolf's sons, and the son of my
brother, Cross Guns. I was asked to go down and bring the
children home for summer vacation, so I left the next day
for Fort Shaw. The journey to Fort Shaw could not be made [132]
in a single day, and as I camped that first night north of
Depuyer I was waked by another violent thunderstorm. I had
no way of knowing it at the time, but when I got back home I
learned that upon that night the Medicine Lodge at Old
Agency had been struck by lightning. No one but the Holy [165]
Woman had been killed. The Holy Woman had been killed by [793]
a bolt of lightning. [As though it were not enough that this
incident is a verifiable historical fact, some years later, when
the daughter of this Holy Woman sponsored a Medicine Lodge,
she too was struck and killed by lightning. Once again, the
Holy Woman was the only one to die.]

I was delayed at Fort Shaw for two days because upon ar- 159
riving there I discovered that Cross Guns' boy had broken his 484
hip in falling from a horse. The Superintendent of the Indian
School, a man named Campbell, refused to send the boy to 752
the hospital, and in order to borrow a buggy in which to take 657
the youngster home I had to go all the way back to Choteau. 895
Campbell also did not wish to allow one of the girls to go home,

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

ing Woman, told me about the Holy Woman's having been 159
killed by lightning. Goods Stealing Woman had been in the 346
Medicine Lodge at the time, but she, like everyone else except 165
the Holy Woman, had been spared by the lightning bolt. 793

Iron Pipe had arrived in time to claim the Thunder Lodge, 159
but Many Guns, a friend of mine from Gleichen, came to my 778
teepee and told me that the Thunder Medicine Man had saved 796
for me a medicine drum, some medicine bells, and some other things. In order to receive the medicine articles I had first to go through a ceremony, so at the appointed time I called at the lodge of Iron Pipe. Iron Pipe's wife would not at first allow me to enter the lodge, but Many Guns explained that I was an invited guest and so the woman allowed me to take my place in the lodge.

The ceremony was conducted by the medicine man from 159
Gleichen, the Thunder Medicine Man. I sat on his right, and 778
Iron Pipe sat on his left. The Thunder Medicine Man lighted 796
a smudge of juniper and then handed the smudge stick to 756
Iron Pipe. Then he sang four songs.

The words to the first song were, "When the wind blows, [533]
that is my medicine."

The words to the second song were, "When it rains, that is my medicine."

The words to the third song were, "When it hails, that is my medicine."

The words to the fourth song were, "When the weather becomes clear after a storm, that is my medicine."

When he had finished singing, the Medicine Man took the smudge stick and with it scratched a jagged line in the earthen floor of the lodge from the place where I sat to the door; then he drew a similar line from the place where Iron Pipe was sit-
ting. Then the Medicine Man resumed his seat, and immedi- [789]
ately lightning flashed along the jagged lines from in front of Iron Pipe and me to the open door of the lodge.

This was the most frightening thing I have ever witnessed. I knew that this medicine man had great power, and I asked him whether there was anything in his power that was against me. He said, "No, there is nothing in my power against you.
But you must never again eat roseberries; if you do, your whole [784]
body will break out in a rash the same color as the roseberries." [262]

I said, "What about tomatoes?"

He said, "Tomatoes are all right, but you must never again, under any circumstances, use red paint on your blanket."

159 under any circumstances, use red paint on your blanket." The
778 medicine articles which I purchased from the Thunder Medi-
796 cine Man included a drum, some medicine bells, and a small
[756] piece of metal.

[432] Later on [in the fall of the year 1901] I went through a
[432] ceremony with Flat Tail and Drags His Robe in order to pur-
chase a medicine pipe bundle. This bundle contained two
medicine pipes. One pipe came from Sun; the other pipe came
from Thunder.

159 During the Pipe Ceremony I used red paint on my blanket,
and that same night I had a dream in which two men came
796 to my house to visit me. They said that I had been warned not
787 to use red paint, and since I had ignored the warning they
763 were going to punish me by taking away my first child, my little
784 girl. They said that they would be back to let me know when
they were going to take my daughter away from me. The men
[776] did not tell me who they were, but I knew that they were
Thunder and Sun.

159 I went with my friend Many Guns to visit the Bloods over
in Canada [a customary response of the Plains Indian to an
484 emotional crisis was the paying of a visit to a distant relative
154 or close friend; this custom is adhered to by the Blackfoot In-
763 dian even today], and while I was in Canada word reached me
that my daughter was very ill. I returned home immediately.

At that time I was still living near the main fork of Cut Bank
159 Creek. When I arrived at my house, my father was holding my
763 little girl in his lap. Earrings, who was an Indian doctor, was
[759] attempting to treat the child, but as soon as I entered my baby
ran to me and clung to me.

That night I dreamed that the same two men came to me and
159 told me that very soon now they would be coming for my child.
763 In the same dream I saw a rider coming. The two men pointed
787 to the rider and said, "We want your daughter, and we want
that rider too." The rider was Mad Wolf. My daughter died
the next day. Mad Wolf died four days later.

The drum that I had received from the Thunder Medicine
159 Man had been the favorite plaything of my little girl. After
778 my child's death I could no longer bear even to look at the
drum, so I threw it into the creek.

The following year I attended a Medicine Lodge above Browning. The Holy Woman was Snake Woman, the wife of Morning Gun. There had been a flood that spring, and when

the hi-yi-yi's. I miss so *much* by not knowing music! Music doesn't 122
miss much by not knowing me, though, because when I secretly recorded 533
some of the Blackfoot songs Jim has taught me, the playback [126]
sounded like background music for a Hitchcock film and I
hastily erased the tape. Indian music is not so simple as it sounds.

The Pipe Dance is a religious ceremony, customarily held each 122
year after the first thunderstorm of spring. This year, luckily for me, 796 ●
the dance was postponed until the present date. I have not been able to establish definitely the reason for the postponement, but there are rumors that a polio scare discouraged all public gatherings earlier in the year. I do know that the movie house was closed for a while.

But by the time we returned to Starr School, to Jim White Grass' house, people were beginning to arrive for the Dance. Cars and trucks of all descriptions—from ancient jalopies to brand new station wagons—were pulling into the yard. One car had a decal on the rear window which read, "Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Browning, Montana," and a sign in luminescent tape on the bumper which
declared, "JESUS SAVES." As a matter of fact, there are quite a [794]
few "saved" Indians on the Reservation, and I do not think it particularly paradoxical that the best Christians among them are the same ones who are most faithful to the ancient Indian beliefs. In Blackfoot there are many words for God.

For a while Jim and I watched silently as the cars and trucks filled the yard and then began to spill over onto an adjoining lot, then finally Jim shook his head once, in a characteristic gesture, and said, "In old days you see at these dances there was nothing but wagons and horsebacks. Now-days you don't see." (To Jim, "the
old days" refers to any time prior to the end of W.W. II, for it was [554]
not until the post-war period that the automobile replaced the horse as a prestige symbol here on the Reservation. To the Chief, on the other hand, "not long ago" means any time within his memory span, and "just recently" suggests any time between W.W. I and the present.)

When I picked up my shirts at the local laundry, the Norwegian 122
who runs the place confided, "I came out here from North Dakota 602
to get away from too many relatives. Then I married an Indian girl and so now I've got twice as many relatives as before." I know what he means. I am a Blackfoot by adoption only, but I have yet to meet an Indian who is not in some way related to me. However, this profusion of in-laws is attributable only in part to the endogamous social structure of the community; a fair portion of my rela-

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771 Christian dogma and his own spiritual inheritance. Joe told me
177 of the time that a sixteen-year-old Indian girl had seen a vision
of the Virgin Mary. The Virgin had asked the girl to sponsor a Sun
[787] Dance (an Indian religious ceremony) at a certain time and place,
● [796] promising that Jesus would attend the ceremony. So the Sun Dance
was held, and afterward, in solid rock, were found the footprints of
Jesus, showing where he had stood during the ceremony.

122 764 Our religious discussion finally led into a discussion of Indian burials, and Joe Scabby Robe turned and pointed south, across the creek, to a high pine bluff about two miles away. "You see that pine bluff?" he said. "Just below the ridge, in that open place among the pines? You see that little house up there?"

Now that he had pointed it out, I could see the house quite clearly.

"That's an Indian burial house. That's where old Earrings is buried." And Joe told me that a long time ago, before there was a road across this part of the Reservation, a man named Earrings had been returning from the Agency with supplies when he lost his way in a blizzard and froze to death. He was buried, in the Blackfoot
[775] tradition, in a small house constructed especially for that purpose, with his personal belongings left lying close about him in case he should need them in the other life.

I asked Joe whether it would be all right for me to visit the burial house, and he said sure. He even told me how to get there ("You could go that way there, or either go that other way").

122 796 Most of the Pipe Dance guests had arrived now, although an occasional late arriving car or truck would still appear. The house was overflowing with people, and numerous children (Indian children invariably go where their parents go) raced in and out and around the house and visited the outhouse in two's and three's. Joe Scabby Robe went off to find his wife, and I set out to locate the Chief, entering the house by way of the back door which led directly into the big kitchen. The kitchen was crowded with women and children. Mary Ground was there, stirring a huge cauldron which boiled and bubbled on the large woodstove. Also on the stove-top was a two-gallon granite coffeepot. To the right of the kitchen was a small room containing a bed upon which several small children napped. Beyond the kitchen was the main room of the house. I could see the Chief and most of the other men in there, but since this was obviously the room in which the Pipe Dance was to be performed, I did not feel free to enter alone and without invitation.

As I stood uncertainly there in the kitchen, feeling rather like the

only man at a lingerie sale, a roundish, Mrs. Murphy-type Indian 122
woman went charging back and forth, bowling over kids and fre- 796
quently bumping into people and things. I ducked her several times,
but finally she smacked solidly into me, and placing her hand on
my chest she smiled an apology. I looked down into her eyes and
could tell immediately that she was stone blind. Jimmy entered at
that moment. He explained that the woman was Mrs. Amy White
Grass, wife of our host, and he led me into the other room.

The room was quite large—about 25 × 30, I think—and all of the
furniture except a stove in one corner had been removed, leaving [353]
the place bare except for some rather incongruous wall decorations:
the inevitable Indian family portraits, a medicine bundle, a large
framed picture of Jesus, and a really huge and very dirty old toy
poodle. The Chief was seated on the floor at the far end of the room,
to the left of a very old-appearing, cadaverously thin Indian man
with wispy white braids. Jimmy explained that the old man's name
is Dan Bull Plume and that he was to be chief functionary during
the ceremony. Next to the Chief sat old Plenty Treaty (B.C.), and
on across the room and down along the adjoining wall sat Indian
men shoulder to shoulder. As Jim and I entered, a place was made
for us and we hunkered down to join the tight-packed row of men.

To the right of old Dan Bull Plume, and down along the wall
opposite the men, the women sat. Most of the women were dressed
in Indian costume, but a few had on plain dark cotton dresses. None [291]
of the men was dressed in a complete Indian outfit, although most [301]
of them had on moccasins and several wore necklaces of claws or
beads or shells. The Chief had on his moccasins, of course—he never
wears shoes—and he was wearing his shell necklace and the copper [301]
and abalone shell earrings which have pierced his ears for at least
three-quarters of a century. (In the old days the Blackfoots had [304]
their ears pierced by a hot awl.) In his hand the Chief held a fan [237]
made from the wing of an eagle.

Eventually, Mary Ground entered and assumed a place to the immediate right of Dan Bull Plume, four drummers seated themselves cross-legged in a row in front of the women, those who could not find seats on the floor crowded into doorways or behind the stove, and the Pipe Dance ceremony got under way.

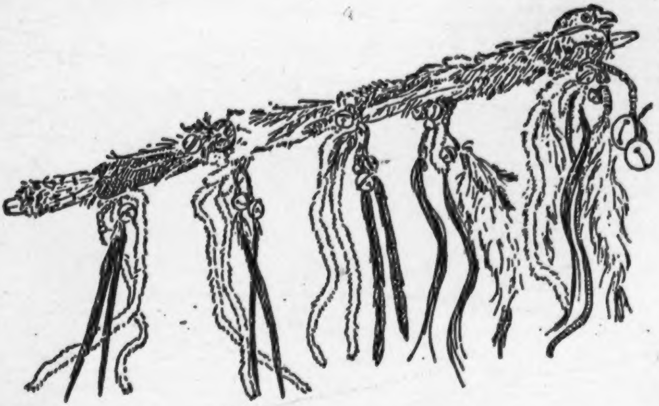
My attempting to describe in detail the Pipe Dance would be equivalent to a pagan's trying to describe High Mass at Saint Peter's. The ceremony began with Dan Bull Plume's suddenly bursting forth with a very rapid and forceful chant; then almost immediately the drums came in, and then followed a lengthy series of religious

122 rituals which were, of course, Roman to me. The experience was
796 somewhat akin to my first attendance, as a small boy, at an Italian
Opera; I didn't understand half that was going on, but I thoroughly
enjoyed every minute of it. I especially enjoyed the drumming.
[534] Each of the four drummers held in his left hand a flat, tambourine-shaped drum. The top of the drum was covered with horsehide;
the bottom was open, criss-crossed with rawhide thongs which
held the drumhead tight and which also provided something by
which the drum could be held by the drummer. The drum was
struck with a single padded drumstick, and the tempo was fast.
[533] The rhythm consisted in a hard beat and then a soft beat—like a
rapid heart—and at the end of a sequence (or whatever the musical
term is), the final soft beat would be skipped, the music ending
with *hard beat, pause, hard beat.* No two drums were of exactly
the same size or pitch, and they all sounded in perfect unison and
the effect was magical. Once again I felt cheated because I have
no real knowledge of music.

One of the drummers was Phillip Many Hides; another was a blind old Indian named Fish. The other two were strangers to me, and I was pleasantly surprised to see that one of them was a very young man—not many of the younger Indians participate actively in the old Blackfoot ceremonies.

122 The most striking ritual of the Pipe Dance ceremony is the unwrapping of the Medicine Pipe. The Medicine Pipe—actually a large
796 and highly ornate pipe stem, without a bowl—is kept wrapped in
778 cloth and wound with buckskin thongs and can be opened only at
276 a religious ceremony with the proper ritualistic procedure. The
procedure included chanting, drumming, much symbolic pointing
and gesticulating with the Pipe, and the burning of sweetgrass. A
[824] braid of sweetgrass and a pair of wooden tongs made from the
[412] bifurcate branch of a sarvis berry bush are included in the wrapping
along with the Pipe. The tongs were presented to Mary Ground,
who used them to transport a burning ember from the stove to a
flat stone on the floor in front of the functionary. With much
chanting and gesticulation, old Dan Bull Plume shredded some of
the dry sweetgrass over the hot coal, producing a sizeable amount
of sweet, pungent smoke.

The Medicine Pipe itself, when finally exposed to view, was a beautiful thing. Over three feet long, it was marvelously decorated with such things as ermine tails, colored feathers, fur, beads, tiny brass bells, human hair, etc. The Medicine Pipe itself is not used for smoking, but during the ceremony another pipe (the long, stone-



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bowled, peace-pipe variety) was passed around and puffed on by 122
both men and women. In addition to puffing on the pipe, the smokers 796
blew the smoke into their hands and made a gesture of cleansing 778
their bodies with it. They passed me by, though, and I was rather 276
wounded by the slight, I must confess.

Actually the Pipe Dance ceremony was conducted as a series of 122
separate events, with breaks between them. During the breaks, 796
everyone was free to talk and joke and practically everyone, male 276
and female, rolled Bull Durham cigarettes. It is fascinating to see those gnarled old fingers perform so expertly the delicate task of rolling a cigarette. I can't do it. The Blackfoot word for Bull Durham, incidentally, is *Stá-mek-shay-ahp-stá-kan*—which suggests that in Blackfoot, as in language generally, the tendency is toward ease of utterance. The Blackfoot language (typically) also contains several alternate terms for the same product (Bull Durham), one of which (*Ah-boot-ski-nahp-stahk-kan*) translates as "Cow tobacco." Cigarette is *Ìk-ka-móne-nape* or *Móne-yee-mahn*, depending on whether you roll your own or smoke tailor-mades. The secret of speaking fluent Blackfoot, I have decided, consists in three simple rules: (1) never use the same noun more than once a year; (2) if you must use the same old noun twice, pronounce it differently or at least change the vowel stress; (3) when in doubt, calculate by the sun and divide by the moon.

The outstanding aspect of the Pipe Dance was the over-all 796
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796 attitude of relaxed sincerity coupled with the inevitable Indian good
522 humor. Sometimes the old functionary would forget the chants and
have to back up and start again, or someone else would foul up
in some detail of ceremony (the drummers never once goofed), but
nobody seemed to think that he would be damned to the unhappy
hunting ground because of his error. Instead, everyone just had a
good laugh at himself and then carried on. The Indian belief gives
God credit for having a sense of humor, which is more than I can
say for some other, rather dreary religious persuasions.

122 About midway of the ceremony, there was a long break for lunch.
Brought into the room were large baskets of food and a big kettle
796 of something which turned out to be berry soup. And the huge cof-
262 feepot and another tremendous pot containing hot tea. Everyone
—man, woman, and child—was given a plate piled high with food.
And I mean *piled high.* I was handed a paper plate stacked with a
big chunk of boiled beef, three frankfurters, two boiled eggs, soda
crackers, grease bread, cookies, two big pieces of berry cake and
an orange. This in addition to a mug of tea.

I was having too much fun to be really hungry, so I gave away (to the kids) everything except the berry cakes, which were delicious, and the tea. Then Mary Ground sought me out and handed me a paper cup filled with the thick berry soup. It was marvelous—slightly tart, the way I like things—and I drank it all and went looking for more. The soup, the main ingredients of which are juneberries (serviceberries) and bitterroots, is almost identical to something the Swedes call fruit soup. When I was a fumbling undergraduate—before I became a fumbling graduate—I wrote a paper attempting to suggest a valid relationship between Algonkin, of which Blackfoot is a subdivision, and Old Norse (an idea which did not originate with me but which I still consider worthy of pursuit). My instructor ridiculed my sophomoric efforts, suggesting, with typical Germanic vitriol, that I should instead attempt to prove that the Blackfoots were the Lost Tribes of Israel. But he (aha!) had never tasted berry soup. (I had not attempted to trace the origin of the Blackfoots themselves but only certain aspects of their culture.)

After lunch, the ceremony continued, and during the afternoon
122 the actual dancing took place. Only the men danced, and each man
796 danced individually. The dancing of the American Indian today fol-
535 lows a pretty universal pattern, I think. At least I cannot distinguish
the dancing patterns of the Sioux, the Crow, the Cheyenne, the
177 Arapahoe, the Shawnee, the Pueblo or the Blackfoot one from the
[292 other, and this of course can be attributed to the same wide cultural

borrowing which has made the Sioux war bonnet an ubiquitous ad- 292
dition to the costume of the American Indian generally. Even the 177
Blackfoots now wear the Sioux-style headdress; the true Blackfoot [122]
eagle-feather bonnet had the feathers standing straight up all around. [796]
The feathered trailer on the Sioux-style bonnet, now seen from [535]
coast to coast, and on tribes that formerly never wore a headdress at all, originally came from the Mandan Indians of the upper Missouri. The Mandans gave their women to the White Man and their culture to the other Indian tribes, and so now the Mandans are no more.

Of course, it was pretty difficult to detect any choreographic in- 796
dividualism at the Pipe Dance because most of the dancers were 535
very old and could achieve little more than a rhythmic stamping of the feet. Dan Bull Plume danced, supporting himself with a heavy cane. Fish, the blind drummer, danced as well as a sightless man can. And the young drummer, whose name, I learned, is Joe Horn, danced magnificently. Borrowing the Chief's eagle-wing fan, and obtaining an identical fan from another old man, Joe held the fans, one in each hand, stiff-armed straight out before him. At each strong drumbeat, he dipped the wings downward with a quick motion of his wrists, and the movements of his feet were so subtle that he gave the impression of being propelled around the room by the power of the wings alone. It was a strikingly graceful performance.

The Chief later said that neither he nor Jimmy had danced be- 796
cause the ceremony was not properly presented. Many of the formal rituals were missing, and a great deal of the chanting was not ac-
cording to Chief Hoyle. The Chief is so religiously tolerant that I (622)
had never suspected him of being so kosher with regard to the Indian religion. Actually, the Chief is the only Blackfoot left who knows the old songs and ceremonies in their entirety and who can officiate with real authority at Blackfoot religious ceremonies. These young kids of seventy and eighty are just not with it.

The final portion of the ceremony consisted in the granting of
blessings by the chief functionary. Those that were ill, and those [755]
desirous of remaining well, knelt before old Dan Bull Plume and [751]
to the accompaniment of chanted prayers had their faces marked with vermillion earth paint.

I'll say one thing for myself: I'm an adaptable son of a gun—at least 122
linguistically. When the Pipe Dance was over and we were getting into the car, I heard myself say to Jim, "That berry soup was the best they're had I liked."

torical Blackfoot tales as a youngster by having the old-timers recite 538
them to him, over and over, until he knew every word (rather in 861
the same manner that the Rig-Veda was passed from generation to generation in India, but of course lacking the formality which attended this linguistically important ritual of the ancient Brahmin religion). The Chief said that the old-timers had been very patient and generous but that sometimes they would tease him, and he illustrated the nature of this teasing by relating an actual incident.

THE BATTLE AT SIX PERSONS

A group of us youngsters were sitting around listening to 159
some of the old-timers tell stories. There was Looking For 726
Smoke, Big Spring, Morning Eagle and some others. Morning Eagle was telling us about the time that a Blackfoot war party was fighting against some Crows at a place called Six Persons. The Blackfoots were doing all right for themselves until they ran out of ammunition, at which time six of them got killed. Finally Morning Eagle said, "I see plenty of ammunition around here," and he began to point to various small sticks that were lying around the ground. Then he took from his pocket a piece of milkroot that was just about the size of a bullet, and placing the milkroot in his rifle he shot it as though it were a bullet and killed a Crow. Then all the rest of the Blackfoots placed sticks in their rifles and fired them, and pretty soon they had the Crows on the run.

When Morning Eagle finished his story, he took a black handkerchief from his pocket. He said, "This black handkerchief is [522]
my gunpowder. I think I will throw it into the stove and make the stove explode." When he said that, all of us youngsters became frightened and ran outside. Those old-timers sure did laugh at us.

Inevitably during the evening the conversation would return to 123
Blackfoot religious beliefs and ceremonies, and at length the Chief 796
stated that he would like to have a Beaver Ceremony if only he
had the money to pay for the feast. The Chief is the only living 122
"Beaver Man" (he owns the sacred Beaver Bundle, and is the only person qualified to conduct the Beaver Ceremony), and I am anxious to see the ceremony performed and so I handed him the twenty dollar bill I had in my wallet and promised to give him a like amount tomorrow if that would make enough to pay for the feast. My dough

122 123 is going fast, but I do want to see the Beaver Ceremony—and I
796 know that it will mean a lot to the old Chief, too.

The Chief said, "*Sokáhpi,*" and he presented me with a very old
123 little wheel made of buckskin-covered wood. The wheel has four
525 spokes, made of large old Indian beads strung on sinew, and the
431 buckskin is painted with small Indian designs.* The wheel was given to the Chief by his father, and Jimmy had trouble translating the name for the wheel because the term is no longer used. The closest Jim could come to the actual translation of the term was "wheel for rolling."

525 The wheel was employed by the Blackfoots in a type of gambling game, and I taped the Chief's explanation of how the game was played. The wheel would be rolled along the ground toward a log, and the contestants would attempt to toss arrows through the spokes of the wheel. The objective was to toss the arrow through the spokes as close to the log as possible, the winner being determined by the position of the arrow in relation to certain beads. Each bead —the beads were of various colors—represented a horse that the owner of the wheel had stolen from the enemy, and the game was really very ritualistic and complicated.

122 We all stayed up until 12:30, and everyone was very happy and conversational. The Chief has been quite aware that nobody has been very joyful around here lately, and he said that this sudden metamorphosis to conviviality has resulted from our decision to have a Beaver Ceremony. The Chief also confided that I have made quite a hit with Mary Ground, the lady who sponsored the Pipe Dance. She was quite pleased that I enjoyed the berry soup so much. She, incidentally, had prepared it.

[123] I gave the Chief the red flannel shirt that I had bought for him.

122 123 778 Then the Chief spoke to Jim, and Jim went into the Chief's room and came back carrying an extremely old pouch of buffalo hide. I recognized it as a Blackfoot man's medicine pouch, quite large, painted with Indian designs, and with fringe more than two feet long. The Chief opened the pouch and showed its contents to me one by one. There were four large rattles of hardened rawhide— [534] very, very old; a lock of hair from a buffalo tail; a small piece of hair-on buffalo hide which served to line the bottom of the pouch; [386] and a sueded buckskin sack, colored with *níts-i-sahn*, a dull-red paint which the Blackfoots produce by burning a certain kind of clay, containing four buffalo stones (*I-nís-kim*). The buffalo stones are the darndest things I have ever seen. They are natural formations—not altered in any way except to be colored by *níts-i-sahn*—and although I was able to identify three of them as fossils and the fourth as probably an odd-shaped stone of sedimentary origin, it required very little imagination to see them as the Indians do, as [428] tiny buffaloes. The pouch and its contents were an inheritance from the Chief's father, and his father before him. They obviously meant a great deal to the Chief, and I admired them lavishly. I nearly flipped when he told me that they were mine.

Before I could recover from my astonishment, the Chief spoke to Jim again and Jim went again into the Chief's room and returned this time holding a bundle carefully wrapped in old trade cloth and tied with strips of buckskin. I learned that the bundle contained two Blackfoot Medicine Pipes, two pairs of rustic wooden tongs, some sweetgrass braided into a queue, *níts-i-sahn* paint, and several other articles. I had thought that I was to receive a Pipe tomorrow, after the Beaver Ceremony, but instead I received it tonight.

122 123 778 276 The Medicine Pipe is not to be confused with the so-called "peace pipe" which was a smoking pipe and was a rather common article among Plains Indians. The Medicine Pipe, which is really one portion of the Medicine Pipe Bundle, is a purely religious article and cannot be smoked.* According to best authority, there were never more than seventeen Medicine Pipes among all three tribes of the 425 Blackfoot Nation, and it is a rare privilege nowadays even to see a 778 Medicine Pipe, let alone own one.

796 No two medicine pipes are exactly alike; the owner of each pipe

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[796] [782] * I know of only one exception to this rule. During the Sun Dance, if a very special prayer is to be offered to the Sun, the Sun Pipe may be fitted with a bowl and smoked by those inside the Medicine Lodge. Such occasions are very, very rare.

can be identified by the way he paints his face, and the ceremony 778
of transfer of ownership of a Pipe is inimitable to the individual 796
Pipe. I have heard of a pipe transfer ceremony which required four 425
days of ritual, and of another which consisted only of the singing of
four songs. The transference of this Pipe to my ownership occupied 123
a time somewhere between these extremes—slightly less than four 778
hours. 796

Attempting to describe the ceremony would be like trying to de- 425
scribe in words the quality of any other religious experience—it simply cannot be done. If you have been there, you know; if not, you will never know. It is very reassuring, in a way, to realize that there are still, in this day of movies, television (next comes the feelies, I guess), some experiences which cannot be realized vicariously—which must be *lived*.

First there was the burning of sweetgrass and the ceremonious unwrapping of the Pipe Bundle. And then, for three hours, ritual followed ritual, each movement and gesture established by long tradition—the entire ceremony accompanied by a ceaseless chanting by the Chief. The Chief is the only living Blackfoot who knows in its entirety the proper ceremony for transferring ownership of the Medicine Pipe, and I was humbled, as I sat there on the floor before him, by the realization that in all probability I was the last person, Indian or White, who would receive a Piegan Medicine Pipe with full traditional ritual.

I was emotionally very receptive to every aspect of the Pipe Transfer Ceremony—and the feelings which the ritual evokes in the participant are truly singular—but I could not make an intellectual grasp on much of the proceeding because I did not understand its significance, and I must confess that several times during the long hours of gesture and chanting my thoughts wandered. I thought—irrelevantly, perhaps—about one of the most profound paradoxes of modern society: that so many people are cynical about human experience without ever in their lives having had the guts or the sensitivity to participate—really—in a human experience. And if you are cynical about human experience you cannot but be cynical about religious experience, because a truly human experience—a human relationship—is in every sense a religious experience.

I find myself unable to articulate my feelings on this subject, and 000
in a way I am glad. Because any experience which can be clearly articulated has not been fully assimilated. No brave man can define courage, and no one capable of real love can tell you what love is. More important, he does not feel the need for definition; the need,

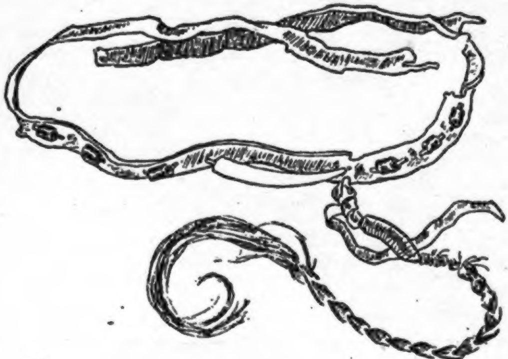
000 if that be the term, is for realization. Knowledge, sometimes, is a poor substitute for knowing (I think I got that from Kahlil Gibran). Faulkner felt this, I think. Sherwood Anderson must have been aware of it, and Jack London. Steinbeck knows it, and I think Hemingway, toward the end, caught a glimpse. I sicken myself when I have to drag in famous names in order to fortify my convictions. Really, I just defeated myself.

One more rambling thought: where the hell do people think they are going? I am thinking now of the "religious" do-gooders who are so preoccupied with some vague never-never pursuit of eventually converting the whole world to their own particular religious belief that they haven't time to show a little love and concern for the people they *actually meet* in the *now*. This observation is of course subject to limitless ramifications, but the pinnacle of egotism, I think, is in believing that you—not your neighbor—are "saved." I suspect that more than one joker is going to strut confidently into the lobby only to discover that he has no reservation after all.

123 The final portion of the ceremony consisted in my having my face
778 painted with red earth paint by the Chief. Then the Chief asked
me to choose one of the Pipes. I said that either one would be fine,
796 but the Chief insisted that I must make a choice and so I chose the
425 nearer of the two. The Chief presented the Pipe to me, showed me
[302] how to wrap it properly, and advised me that the Pipe must never
be unwrapped without the proper ceremony. Such an action would
[777] bring much ill-fortune. The Chief said that the last man of his acquaintance
to sell a Pipe without adhering to proper ritual went
blind a short time later.

123 The Chief gave me, along with the Pipe, two necklaces. Both are
very old, and each is composed of beads and shells strung on a dull
778 red-colored piece of buckskin. One necklace has seven blue beads,
796 a dentilium shell, and a queue of human hair; this is the Sun Dance
425 Necklace, worn by the Holy Woman and the Medicine Man at a
Medicine Lodge celebration. The other necklace is made of three
301 large Indian beads and a different variety of shell; this one, for
[437] which the Chief traded a racehorse, many, many years ago, is associated
with my Medicine.

000 Just as the ceremony concluded, there was a thump in the kitchen and immediately the kitten strutted into the living-room with a mouse in its mouth. The mouse was not as big as the kitten, or even half as big; but the mouse was *so* big, and the kitten is so *tiny*, that Jimmy said, "Look up [look out], cat, or that mouse is goin' ate you up." The kitten is a female (I have just decided), and now that she



Sun Dance Necklace

had an audience she proceeded to do the dreadful things that cats 000
of all breeds do to mice of all descriptions.

It was 12:30 now, and the Chief was exhausted from the lengthy 122
ceremony, and after a cup of Sanka he and Jimmy went to bed. I was tired, too, but sometimes I find it hard going to bed without a wife. This is not supposed to sound especially virile—tonight I would have kept my wife up all night just talking. But I have no wife, and so I am sitting here alone typing this. Life, I have decided, is, in at least one respect, like death. Neither is realized all at once; each is realized, rather, in scattered little bits and pieces. I experienced a lot of living today—and a little of dying too, I think.

But now it is very late and I am tired enough to kick Liz out onto the floor. So, *Kèn-yai-au-wah-nay-náh-pi-quon!*

122
tweezers, but I couldn't find anything to pluck. Jimmy doesn't have [123]
to shave very often either. The lucky dogs. [302]

Jim cooked the eggs this morning and they were incredibly bad. I offered some to the kitten, and after one taste she backed away from the plate shaking her head and spitting—obviously possessing a perfectly justifiable preference for mouse heads.

Joe Morning Gun and his wife came by right after breakfast and
had coffee with us. Joe was wearing a nice blue suit, and his hair
was freshly cut, clipped straight around above the ears. His wife [822]
had on a blue dress (Indians like the color blue) with circles on it,
and she was wearing a very large and unusual Indian necklace.

The Chief and the Morning Guns rode to the Beaver Ceremony 122
in the station wagon with me. Jimmy said that he would follow in 796
the truck: "I'll take you over [overtake you] at Starr School." The back of the wagon was loaded with paraphernalia for the ceremony, all of which Jimmy had carted out of the Chief's room. The Beaver Bundle, which was packaged in a *nitsisahn*-painted animal skin, is quite large—larger than a man's suitcase. In addition to this we took several medicine rattles, also colored with *nitsisahn;* some wooden bowls, from which we would eat our food; an ancient horn spoon, with which the Chief was to eat his portion of berry soup; and several large, *nitsisahn*-colored hides which would be spread upon the floor of the ceremonial room and upon which the contents of the Beaver Bundle would be spread.

When we arrived at Starr School it was still early in the morning, and at Jim White Grass' house three small children were asleep in the little bedroom off the kitchen. Our blind hostess, Amy White Grass, and Mary Ground were busy in the kitchen preparing heaps of food for the feast, and when finally the children tottered sleepily into the room Mary said, "We got a lot of work to take and do. You kids eat them beans and bread and butter and drink some coffee and get from underfoot." Patty, the tiniest of the children, is a perfect-featured little doll of about three. She had on a red leotard, red tennis shoes, and a pink dress.

Soon the people began to arrive, and soon the house was overflowing with people, and soon the Beaver Ceremony had begun. The setting was nearly identical with the setting for the Pipe Ceremony of a week ago, but the ceremony itself was quite different. The Chief, of course, conducted the ceremony (in addition to being a Chief, he is a "Beaver Man"), and assisting him, seated on his left, were Plenty Treaty B.C. and Fish Wolfrobe. I was delighted to dis-

122 cover that the two female assistants, seated on his right, were Mary
796 Ground and Maggie Bear Child (Plenty Treaty's wife).

I am an observant person, I think—or at least I try to be—but when
122 I observe people it is usually a conscious and sometimes a strenuous
151 act on my part (occasionally there is the embarrassing moment
796 when I am caught staring). But I have discovered that my Indian friends, who usually appear not to notice anything or anybody, are actually more observant than I—in fact they don't miss a thing. Jimmy was one of the functionaries at the ceremony—he sat cross-legged and cut tobacco with a knife on a brass tack-decorated wooden cutting board, and he filled and lighted the long ceremonial pipe and performed various other functions. I didn't think he took special notice of anything or anybody. But when later I asked him to explain some of the rituals—who had done what when and why—my omnipercipient Indian brother was able to give me the most intimate detail of anything that had happened at any time during the ceremony. I would have liked to take some pictures and do a
[126] tape of the ceremony, but, feeling that this would be a tourist-like intrusion, I did not seek permission. But I wanted to include in this journal the names of the people present at the Beaver Dance, and when later in the day I asked Jim to help me out, he was able, without the slightest hesitation, to name them all. On the Chief's left, in correct order, were Louis Bear Child, Fish Wolfrobe, James White Grass, Tom Many Guns, Henry Little Dog, Charlie Horn, Joe Morning Gun, James White Calf, Richard Last Gun (myself), Juniper Old Person, Jim Buffalo, Paul Many Hides, and Francis Redhorn. To the right of the Chief: Mary Ground, Maggie Bear Child, Mrs. Tom Many Guns, Mrs. Fish Wolfrobe, Mrs. Charlie Horn, Mrs. Joseph Morning Gun, Mrs. Jim Buffalo, Mrs. Molly Arrowtop, Mrs. Phillip Many Hides, and Mrs. Henry Little Dog. All these people
122 were seated on the floor, and there were others that could not find
796 seats and so stood in doorways or along the walls. I was relieved to see that not everyone sat cross-legged because I am currently unable
516 to sit in this manner—I can fold under one leg at a time, but not both at once.

[533] The four drummers all sat cross-legged, and they were positioned, as at the Pipe Dance, in a row in front of the women. But this time the drum rhythm was not a pulsing, heart-like, hard-soft beat. This time the drumming was a rapid steady pounding. But it was much more than that. Perhaps a musician could explain how the drummers achieved such an unusual effect with their steady pounding drumming. I cannot.

And at the Beaver Dance Ceremony the pounding of drums was 796
accompanied by the sound of rattles. There were four rattles, played 533
at various times by different men—sometimes the Chief had one in 534
his hand. But the rattles were not shaken in the air; they were
pounded on the animal hides that covered the floor, so there was
the double sound of the rattle striking the hide and the pebbles
chattering inside the rawhide rattle. And then, too, there was the
piping of the eagle-bone whistles. (The striking of the rattle upon
the hide is a symbolic representation of the beaver's striking the
water with his flat tail as a signal of danger; the blowing of the bone
whistle represents the beaver's whistle-like warning sound.) The
Chief had his whistle hung about his neck on a buckskin thong, and
Plenty Treaty and Fish Wolfrobe had similar whistles. At special
times, the whistles would inject a series of shrill peeps into the
music, and the over-all effect of the drums, the rattles, the whistles,
and the chanting was spellbinding—truly fascinating.

There is a theory, rather widely held in music circles, that Ameri- 121
can jazz derives not from African Negro music but from the music 533
of the American Indian. I would be inclined to go along with this
theory. Indians are the most musical people I have ever met. And
although my opinion admittedly is unqualified, it is not prejudiced.
I think that Keely Smith is the greatest female singer of popular
songs, and I held this opinion even before I found out that she is an
American Indian. And I did hear jazz—really good jazz—in the music
of the Beaver Ceremony.

When everyone had taken his place, and the hides had been 796
spread on the floor and the Beaver Bundle had been placed before
the Chief, the ceremony began with the burning of sweetgrass on
some earth which had been poured onto a hide and then flattened
and swirled with the fingers into a pattern which, I feel sure, was
symbolic. The sweetgrass was shredded by the Chief over a hot coal
which had been carried in by Mary Ground with a pair of wooden
tongs and placed on the earth on the hide. The long series of rituals 796
which followed are, like the rituals of the Pipe Dance, defiant of 562
description, but I think it interesting that women play such impor-
tant roles in Blackfoot religious ceremonies. Interesting too is the
fact that, with the exception of the carrying in of the coal, female
functions are always carried out by groups of women, whereas the
men usually dance singly.

I had somehow gotten the idea that I was to be number one 123
debutramp at this here cotillion, but not so. I was just one more 796
Blackfoot, and actually I preferred it that way. I was allowed to par-

123 ticipate fully in all the ceremonies, and when the men, one by one,
796 got up to dance—including the Chief, that old rascal—I in my turn
danced too. Fish, the blind man, who was wearing a really terrific
Indian belt, danced also, but of course he had to be led onto the
floor and he could dance only in one fixed place.

During the really formal dances, the women always danced in
[801] groups of four—four being a number of some great religious signifi-
cance among the Blackfoots. I think this derives from the four di-
rections, for I noticed that as the smoking pipe was passed along,
the old men all blew the smoke four ways. The pipe was of the
[276] large ceremonial variety, with a stone bowl and a stem about thirty
inches long so that it was necessary to hold the bowl at arm's length
while smoking. The pipe was passed from one man to another down
the line from the Chief, and as it approached I asked Jim whether
there was any special way in which I was supposed to smoke it.
Jim said not to worry but to watch him and do exactly as he did.
So I watched Jim very carefully. And when he handed me the
pipe I dutifully scratched my crotch, coughed in the face of the
man on my left, and took four puffs on the pipe.

The ceremony was adjourned for the feast, and once again there was plenty for all, and once again I lapped up a bowl of Mary's berry soup and looked around, bright eyed and waggy tailed, for more.

123 After lunch came the big moment: the sacred Beaver Bundle
796 was unwrapped by the Chief. I had expected a great deal, and I
778 was not disappointed. The chanting and ritual which accompanied
the unwrapping were spine-tingling, and I found it easy to imagine
that I was seated in a Blackfoot lodge of not 1962 but of perhaps
a hundred years ago. And the contents of the Beaver Bundle were,
to me, breath-taking. There were in the bundle, in addition to the
albino crow—the whiteness of which had been reddened somewhat
with vermillion earth paint—a large number of the most beautifully
cured animal pelts I have ever seen. There were beaver, otter,
[281] mink, weasel, ermine, marten, and many others. Each pelt had been
fleshed out even to the head and toes, and I had never before fully
appreciated the efficacy of the Indian tanning procedure. I do now,
for sure.

796 There were numerous other articles contained in the Beaver Bun-
778 dle, and each article was in some way employed ceremonially as it
535 was taken from the wrapping. Four women performed a dance
structured around the significance of the four buffalo stones. Four
women did the Beaver Dance, each holding a beaver pelt to her

chin and holding in her mouth a small stick, in imitation of the 796
beaver. And there was a lively number called the Prairie Chicken 778
Dance, in performance of which the women held blankets over their 535
heads and spread their arms wide in imitation of the movements of prairie chickens. For some reason the Prairie Chicken Dance caused quite a stir of excitement among the womenfolk, and one woman (Cecile Horn) who had been standing in a doorway pulled her coat up over her head and moved out onto the floor to join the dancers. Almost immediately, another woman did the same thing.

The Blackfoots always manage to include in their religious cere- 796
monies some occasion of pure fun, and today it was the Buffalo 535
Dance—a real fun dance if such there ever was. The Buffalo Dance
was the only co-educational dance of the day—boys can't have much 522
fun without girls, let's face it—and if you want to have your own [534]
buffalo dance you need only music, people of both genders, and some buffalo hooves, polished and split and strung together on rawhide thongs so that they rattle nicely.

During the Buffalo Dance, both men and women remain seated on their respective sides of the room. Only one person at a time dances, the dancing beginning when a man takes the hooves and carries them twice around the room and on the second go-around tosses the hooves to a woman; then the woman dances twice around and tosses the hooves to a man, and so on back and forth until everybody has had his turn at dancing. But of course there is much more to it than that. The dancing is performed in imitation of the mating of the buffalo, and as the men dance they prance and stomp and grunt and lower their heads like bull buffalo, and the dancing women project the coyness and seductiveness of the buffalo cow. There is no set pattern for dancing—everyone is free to improvise and to dance as originally and as entertainingly as he can, and this is where the fun comes in. The whole proceeding radiates a tone of merriment and good humor, and when a man dances up to a woman she will shake her head in mock protest and flap her blanket or skirt at the "bull" to frighten him away. And when a woman dances close to a man he will grunt and hook his buffalo horns at her in an attempt to discourage her overtures—or else, with humorously exaggerated dignity, he will pretend to ignore her completely.

It was Mrs. Tom Many Guns, dressed in a beautiful Indian costume of predominating blue, with blue beadwork on her moccasins and a fine blue blanket over her shoulders, that received the hooves from Joe Horn, the young drummer. (Joe had been replaced at the drum by Fish Wolfrobe, who is blind and so could not see to engage in the Buffalo Dance.)

796 535 522 123

in the Buffalo Dance.) Mrs. Many Guns tossed the hooves to me, and so now it was my turn on the floor. I danced once around, stomping and hooking my horns at the ladies and rattling the hooves at them, and they laughed and pretended to be terrified by the overpowering masculinity of this fierce big bull and with threats and gestures they shooed the bull away. And the second time around, amid shrieks of delighted approval, I suddenly tossed the hooves to Mary Ground, one of the oldest ladies present—whom I had ignored completely the first time around but who had been my intended mate all the time.

796 535 522

The next man to receive the hooves tossed them to Maggie Bear Child, and that Maggie Bear Child—small and round and seventy-eight years old and cute as a button—is a living doll. Maggie directed her attention toward Jimmy, and those two really put on a show. Little Maggie danced as gracefully as a fawn and as coyly as a girl. She was alternately seductive and aggressive, and Jimmy was very fierce and threatening—or petrified with fear—and they both stomped their feet and hooked horns at one another, and finally Maggie backed off and charged Jimmy with little dancing steps and they butted their heads together and Jimmy at last was subdued in horn-locked combat.

Brother Jim danced then, and he is probably the best dancer on the Reservation. As a boy, Jim traveled widely, giving exhibitions of Indian dancing, and I was slightly put out that he had not worn his dancing moccasins but instead had on the same old work shoes in which he had cut wood for the breakfast fire. But if need be, Jim could dance better than the rest of us in hip boots, and he proved it now by prancing and stomping and charging and retreating and shaking his mane and hooking with his horns and spinning in small circles and hopping wounded on one foot—all with magnificent manly grace and with perfect regard for the rhythm of the tireless drums.

[181]

Everyone took his turn with the hooves, and I wish that all the world could see the Blackfoot Indians as I saw them during the performance of the Buffalo Dance—graceful and gay and creative and warmly human and thoroughly wonderful. I loved them all—with the possible exception of one Ned Sparks-type Indian who, as he had done at the Pipe Dance, came late and hung around the kitchen until he had been fed and then left. I am sure he is not a full-blood because he has a face like a weak cup of tea—with lemon.

123 796 302

The Beaver Dance Ceremony was over after all us Blackfoots, one by one, had knelt before the Chief and had our faces painted

with vermillion earth paint. Jimmy admonished me to make certain 123
that when I arose again I should turn to the right and not to the 796
left. I still don't know why, but after I had knelt and the Chief had [302]
painted my forehead and nose and cheeks and the part of my hair
and had chanted a prayer for me, I was careful to do as Jimmy had
directed.

Anyone who thinks that Blackfoot Indians stand around with 181
their arms folded under their blankets, feeling sorry for themselves
or otherwise wasting time, could not be more mistaken. Despite
lack of educational and employment opportunity—despite lack of
money and everything that lack of money implies—the Blackfoot
of today holds to the perdurable courage and zest for living which is
his heritage.

"Idleness is the devil's workshop," my grandmother used to say, 517
and the devil would find very little working room among the Blackfoots. There is always something cooking on the Reservation. Last
night there was a dance in town, this morning there was the Beaver
Dance, and this afternoon, as soon as the ceremony was completed,
everybody went barrelling across the prairie to the Starr School
racetrack.

The racetrack is only about a mile behind Jim White Grass' 122
house, and the Chief and Jim and I got there in time for the first 541
race. I parked the station wagon between two other cars, and as I
got out, an intoxicated younger-generation Indian stuck his hand [273]
out of a car window (why is it that all drunks want to shake hands!)
and asked me who I was. I shook hands and spoke to him in Blackfoot and left him staring in the wide-eyed, drop-jawed posture of
disbelief that only a drunk can portray. He was very young, and
the only drunk I saw at the races.

Almost the next person I met was Stanley White Man, leading his palomino racehorse. I said, "Are you going to race the palomino, Stanley?"

Stanley said, "Yah, she's going ride her for me." Which, as anyone knows, meant that Stanley was going to enter the horse and that he had hired a jockey (male) to ride her for him. Stanley's horse lost.

The races were all match races, run over a straight, quarter-mile 541
course. The finishline was flanked for many yards with cars and 525
trucks, and the bet-takers were busily conducting business on the
hood of an automobile. I was really quite pleased that I had represented the event so accurately in "Horserace."

The Chief was laying down bets along with the best of them. In- 525

122 never killed, and both Jimmy and I wish it could have been he that
224 shot this one.

When the Chief walked up to the moose, he said immediately and without hesitation that it was a young bull, two years old. It was a fairly big Shiras moose—much larger than a horse—but the
[237] antlers were not remarkable. The Chief says that in the old days the Indians used to make serving platters of the flat, dish-like
[415] antlers.

The Chief remarked matter-of-factly that we had gotten a moose
[796] because we had sponsored a Beaver Ceremony yesterday. (He has
[789] already revealed that one of the functions of the Beaver Bundle in the old days was to call the buffalo to the Blackfoot hunting grounds.) I told him that when I had tried peyote, down in New Mexico, I had seen a vision of a young bull moose with small antlers. And indeed this was true. Under the influence of peyote I had seen a phantasmagoria of beautiful and brilliant colors, most remarkable of which was a singular and delicate shade of blue (it occurred to me this very instant for the first time that blue is the favorite color of the Blackfoots—I had not made the association before). Next in the vision was a three-dimensional cross, and finally I saw the head of a very dark young bull moose—identical to the head of the moose we got today.

122 The Chief passed my peyote experiences lightly, obviously con-
224 vinced that the moose had been presented to us because of our sponsoring of the Beaver Dance Ceremony. Of course, I would not
789 argue the matter with him, and indeed there is much ground for
796 the Chief's conviction. The Beaver Ceremony is in part a prayer to the Great Spirit to make game abundant, and the fact that we took a moose early the next day is definitely remarkable. But, out of regard to my peyote experience, why did we get a young bull moose instead of one of the more plentiful animals such as deer and elk? This part of the Reservation is not moose country—this was the first moose to be taken in these parts within the memory spans of all the old Indians to whom I talked. But, to return once again to the Chief's point of view, why was it that we, of all the thousands on the Reservation, took the moose. That moose must have traveled many miles, crossing several ranches, in order to appear at just the proper time almost in our backyard. To me the whole affair represents a fascinating enigma; to the Chief it is a perfectly logical and apodictic sequence of related events.

122 The shooting of the moose was the easy part. The real work was
224 in skinning and butchering the huge creature. For years I carried in

657 they were committed for trial at the next sitting of the Supreme Court, which was held on the 5th August, Indian Agent Pocklington and their chief, "Red Crow," going their bail pending the sitting of the court. The Crown prosecutor thought before the trial came off that there had been a good case made out, that the Indians had no cause or right to assault the police, even had there been no warrants issued; but the judge, on hearing the evidence, threw out the case, as I believe he decided it was not a legal arrest as no warrant had been issued, and the prisoners were released. In making this arrest, the non-commissioned officer was not in possession of a warrant, but I consider he acted perfectly right, there being so many bad Indians wanted at times that unless a man takes every chance offered he will likely lose his man altogether, as they give very few opportunities for arresting.

657 796 The impression has gone abroad that the Sun Dance is a religious festival; it may have been regarded as such at one time, but the experience of nearly all those whose dealings and occupations have brought them in close contact with the Indians, and who are well acquainted with their manners and customs, do not now consider it as such. It has degenerated into a gathering merely for the purpose of using up presents of tea, tobacco, &c., given them by their agents or begged from their white neighbors. It is a festival that should be discouraged; it has the effect of reviving too vividly old associations. Old warriors take this occasion of relating their experience of former days, counting their scalps and giving the numbers of horses they were successful in stealing. This has a pernicious effect on the young men; it makes them unsettled and anxious to emulate the deeds of their forefathers.

721 657 It was reported to me on the 30th of April that a party of fifteen Blood Indians had left for the Crow Reserve in the United States for the purpose of stealing horses. Sergeant Hilliard, in charge of Stand Off detachment, got the names of the Indians absent from the reserve in case they were needed. On the 22nd I received a telegram from R. S. Tingley, of Big Sandy, Montana, to the effect that some of our Indians were stealing horses in that vicinity, and requesting me to take action in the matter. I sent word to the outposts to keep a sharp look out for their return and also notified the agent at the reserve to warn me of their return, should they escape the notice of our men.

the N.W.M.P., Lethbridge, December 1, 1889, shows just how off-base 114
a person can get with regard to a religious observance about 657
which he has carefully avoided becoming educated. Superintendent [127]
Deane here proves that if you keep your actual knowledge on a subject down to an absolute minimum, your conversational possibilities with regard to that subject are unlimited.

INDIANS

> . . . The Bloods think they are the cream of creation, and it 657
> is time for them to begin to imbibe some modification of the idea.
>
> We have been unsuccessful in keeping them on the reserve. A firm and persistent pressure will in time have the desired effect.
>
> I went to the sun dance on the reserve this year, and I came 657
> away with the impression that it serves no useful purpose what- 796●
> ever, and might be profitably replaced by some other form of entertainment. No more than half a dozen would-be braves underwent the ordeal, and some of them were only brought to the scratch by obtrusive and derisive encouragement. The Indians could not agree among themselves as to where it should be held, and Red Crow did not appear. It has the effect of bringing out all the bad qualities of the Indians, without any compensating advantage. It feeds the naturally cruel nature of the spectators, it panders to the lust of both sexes, and unsettles the marital relations of the Indians themselves; and last, though not least, it acts as an incentive to the triumphant participant to evince a courage to which he is far from feeling in the commission of some lawless act.

It was asinine reports such as this—Deane's comments could not [114]
be further from the truth—which induced the Canadian Government
for many years to prohibit the Indians from holding their sacred
Sun Dance observance. Just exactly what the nature of Superintend- 657
ent Deane's character and attitude toward the Indian really were
is made clear in another section of his report in which he expresses 721
gratification that the Bloods, whom he was being paid to protect, had been robbed by a war party of "Belknaps" (Gros Ventres and Assiniboines) from across the International Boundary. Deane states:

3rd June, 1889. 657

. . . Since the war party returned from the Crow country, 721 the Indians have kept a very sharp look out for hostile Indians approaching. Scarcely a day passes that reports come in stating so many Indians afoot were seen in certain neighborhoods. One report was brought me to the effect that shots had been exchanged between Blood herders and strange Indians afoot but upon inquiry nothing could be confirmed

The fact is the Bloods are scared to death lest any war party of any size should come.

"Young Pine", "The Scout" & the S.Piegan are still in the [727] guard-house awaiting prosecution from the U.S. side of the line. Major Steele informs me that he has wired several times but so far no one has come. I expect he will liberate the Bloods in the course of a few days.

Pocklington.

REPORT FOR JUNE

2nd July, 1889 657

The Indians having been occupied principally in getting 796 ready for the Sun dance which bids fair to be of less importance 578 than last year as there is a split among them, the Lower Indians will not join the Upper & the Upper say they will not join the Lower. it has looked for sometime past as if they would hold a sun dance in both camps, still I think in the end they will join and make one Medicine Lodge.

As directed by you I saw Supt.Steele about "Calf Robe" 657 "Prairie chicken old man" & "Crazy Crow". he informed me 727 there was no charge against them. I then saw "Red Crow" & told him to take the Indians in & that if they gave themselves up there would be nothing done to them. "Calf Robe" went in & was let go, the others at the time of writing have not done so, I will see them in a day or two & prevail upon them to do so.

Pocklington.

Bloods
9th July, 1889.

I have the honor to inform you that on the 4th inst the 657 M.Police attempted to make an arrest of two Indians at the Sun Dance which might have resulted in serious trouble.

461 554 consider it better to be successful at these activities than to be successful in the other more practical and possibly non-Indian activities.

461 [554] **Chicken Dancer**.--Office Worker and Chicken Dancer conclude the list of acceptable activities despite its affinities to white-man culture. Easy work was cited in reference to preferring Calf Roping, and, as will be seen, matters of personal pride and recognition will relate Chicken Dancing to Office Worker. With this comment we turn to Chicken Dancing.

535 [541] [796] [361] [554] It is noticeable that Chicken Dancing, more generally called "fancy dancing," is an aesthetic endeavor. Throughout western Canada, Indian Days, rodeos and stampedes feature this kind of dancing as a part of the entertainment. It also occurs at the more religious Sun Dance ceremonies on the Blackfoot Reserve at Gleichen, Alberta and at the Blood Sun Dance. There it is one of the social events surrounding the sacred Medicine Lodge ceremony. Chicken Dancing at the Indian Days and rodeos is often rewarded with prize money in much the same pattern as the rodeo events, but at the Sun Dance participation and the admiration of the spectators are the only rewards.

535 46[illegible] Twenty-two individuals held an opinion on Chicken Dancing, of whom thirteen, or fifty-nine per cent, favored it.